Sam Rayburn

LATE A REPRESENTATIVE FROM
TEXAS

❧

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Memorial Services

HELD IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND
SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, TOGETHER WITH
REMARKS PRESENTED IN EULOGY OF

Sam Rayburn

LATE A REPRESENTATIVE FROM
TEXAS

Eighty-seventh Congress
Second Session

UNITED STATES
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Biography

SAM RAYBURN was born near Kingston, Roane County, Tenn., January 6, 1882; moved to Fannin County, Tex., in 1887 with his parents who settled near Windom; attended the rural schools and was graduated from the East Texas Normal College, Commerce, Tex., in 1903; studied law at the University of Texas at Austin; was admitted to the bar in 1908 and commenced practice in Bonham, Fannin County, Tex.; member of the State house of representatives 1907–1913, and served as speaker during the last two years; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-third and to the twenty-four succeeding Congresses and served from March 4, 1913, until his death; majority leader in the Seventy-fifth and Seventy-sixth Congresses; minority leader in the Eightieth and Eighty-third Congresses; elected Speaker September 16, 1940, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Speaker William B. Bankhead; reelected Speaker in the Seventy-seventh, Seventy-eighth, Seventy-ninth, Eighty-first, Eighty-second, Eighty-fourth, Eighty-fifth, Eighty-sixth, and Eighty-seventh Congresses; died in Bonham, Tex., November 16, 1961; interment in Willow Wild Cemetery.

# Memorial Services
for
Sam Rayburn

Proceedings in the House

WEDNESDAY, *January 10, 1962.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D.D., offered the following prayer: Hebrews 11:4: *He being dead yet speaketh.*

Almighty God, as we assemble for this 2d session of the 87th Congress, we find ourselves going up and down the sacred courts of memory.

We are calling to mind with deep and fond affection the life and character of the beloved Speaker. As Thou didst not lose him in giving him to us, so we have not lost him by his return to Thee.

Grant that, although absent from us in bodily presence, we may daily feel and hear his spirit urging us to carry on faithfully and courageously.

Gratefully and proudly we are ascribing unto him the words of the inspired poet in praise of the Duke of Wellington—

> Great in council and great in war,
> Foremost captain of his time,
> Rich in saving common sense
> And, as the greatest only are,
> In his simplicity sublime.

We earnestly beseech Thee to bestow upon our President, our newly elected Speaker, and on all our chosen Representatives every needed blessing for the duties of their high vocation.

Hear us as we bow in adoration and unite in offering unto Thee the prayer of the Prince of Peace—

Our Father, Who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven; give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever.

Amen.

The SPEAKER. The Chair asks the Members to remain standing for 1 minute of silent prayer in memory of our late beloved Speaker RAYBURN.

(The House stood in silent prayer for 1 minute.)

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. RES. 491

Resolved, That the House has learned with profound sensibility and sorrow of the death of SAM RAYBURN, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Seventy-sixth through the Seventy-ninth, Eighty-first and Eighty-second, and Eighty-fourth through the first session of the Eighty-seventh Congress, having served as Speaker more than twice as long as any Speaker in the history of the Congress.

Resolved, That in the death of the Honorable SAM RAYBURN the United States has sustained an irreparable loss.

Resolved, That this House, of which he was a distinguished Member and leader, unite in honoring his sterling character, the ability, probity, and patriotic motives which illustrated his public career, and the grace and dignity which marked his intercourse with his fellow citizens.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 40 minutes p.m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, January 11, 1962, at 12 o'clock noon.

MONDAY, *January 15, 1962.*

A message from the Senate by Mr. McGown, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

S. Res. 241

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of the Honorable Sam Rayburn, late Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Seventy-sixth through the Seventy-ninth, Eighty-first and Eighty-second, and Eighty-fourth through the first session of the Eighty-seventh Congress.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now adjourn.

Thursday, *January 18, 1962.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Romans 13: 7: *Render therefore to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; honor to whom honor.*

Almighty God, may this be a day of fragrant memory and tender solemnity, as we gather in this Chamber to give tribute and honor to the beloved Speaker whom we will always remember with sincere and grateful affection.

Our hearts are invigorated and inspired with joy and courage as we think of his nobility of character, his conduct as a good man, his patriotic statesmanship, and his generous good will toward his friends and all mankind.

We rejoice to acknowledge that when we try to compute and appraise the exact value and true measurement of his years among us, we find that he served to perceive this truth clearly and manifested it grandly: that a life of noble character and dedicated service is the only one that is big with eternal significance and of immeasurable worth to Thee, to one's country, and the whole universe.

Help us to appreciate the words of the poet who proclaimed this truth with deep understanding when he wrote:

"We live in deeds, not years, in thoughts, not breath;
In feelings, not in figures on a dial.
He most lives who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts the best."

Hear us in the name of our blessed Lord in whom we have the pattern of life for ourselves. Amen.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, as senior Representative from Texas, it is my sad duty to lead this assembly in our memorial service for the late SAM RAYBURN. On November 16, 1961, our beloved Speaker, colleague, and friend died in Bonham, Tex.

Today, in the historical shadow of Mr. SAM's career, we find ourselves faced with an almost impossible task—that of expressing in adequate terms our thoughts of his greatness.

SAM RAYBURN would not wish us to come here in a spirit of mourning and sorrow, although our sentiments will bespeak of our great loss. Rather, he would wish us to bend our efforts at the beginning of a new session of Congress toward the legislative duties which he considered to be paramount in his life and in the life of each Member of the House of Representatives.

To SAM RAYBURN life was a privilege. To him we owe a debt of gratitude for demonstrating to us the values of discipline without rancor, duty without resentment, friendship without falsehood, and honesty without vanity. To a man of this caliber the entire Nation is indebted for his tireless energy and devoted service as an exemplary public servant.

Amidst the trials, tribulations, and ambitions of the 20th century here emerged a man who had an abiding faith in his country, in his fellow man, in the two-party system, and in the Congress of the United States. Here was a man who knew the meaning of democracy.

As a boy, he worked in the fields of his family's 40-acre cotton farm in north Texas. In his youth he developed a deep love for things political and decided that his goal would be to enter politics. At an early age his thoughts turned toward the challenges of the office of Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives. Years of diligent effort preceded the accomplishment of that dream and on September 16, 1940, Sam Rayburn was elected to succeed the late William Bankhead, of Alabama, as Speaker. Mr. Sam exceeded the record of Henry Clay for length of service as Speaker on the 30th of January, 1951, and by June 12, 1961, he had doubled Mr. Clay's record of 8 years, 4 months, and 11 days.

Mr. Rayburn was born in Roane County, Tenn., on January 6, 1882, the son of W. M. and Martha Waller Rayburn. He was a graduate of East Texas College; studied law at the University of Texas, and served 6 years as a member of the Texas Legislature from 1907 to 1913. The last 2 years of his service in the Texas Legislature he was speaker of the house of representatives.

His service in the Congress of the United States began in 1913 when he was elected to the 63d Congress, and he was elected to each succeeding Congress; his last service terminated during the 87th Congress.

It would be an impossible task to list or mention the numerous beneficial legislative acts passed by the Congress since 1913 in which Mr. Rayburn's talents were contained. It was my privilege to be intimately associated with my fellow Texan, Sam Rayburn, for half a century. I profoundly cherish the memories of his contributions to our way of life. His thoughts and efforts were directed toward the people and his firm resolve was to help those who justly needed and deserved the benefits of legislative action. There was the Rural Electrification Act, the Railroad Holding Company Act, the Securities and Exchange Act, the Federal Communications Act, and farm-to-market roads as contained in the Highway Act of 1944.

I am particularly reminded of two of the great pieces of legislation with which Mr. Rayburn's efforts were intimately associated.

First, the Rural Electrification Act. Statutory provision for the agency was made in May of 1936 when Sam Rayburn served as chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives. The law authorized loans for facilities to bring electric service to rural people who did not have it. His skillful debate, his solid knowledge of the issues at stake in the legislation, his desire to give honest and direct replies to his colleagues on the floor of the House during the days of debate on the REA legislation—all are a matter of public pride on the pages of the Congressional Record. It was his purpose to assist in bringing more ease, more comfort, and more happiness to the people on the farms of America. To SAM RAYBURN the farmer and his family were not a forgotten group. During extensive debate his words, as always, were firm and true. I give you a few of his own statements made on the floor of the House on April 9, 1936:

> Something must be done out there on the farm where people can live quietly and make their bread and meat. This will induce those who are there now to stay and will probably attract a few others, who can never have a job in a town, to move out there and stay there and make a living. * * * We want to make the farmer and his wife and family believe and know that they are remembered as part of—yea, they are the bulwark of the Government.

SAM RAYBURN never lost touch with the backbone of America, whether it was farmer, city laborer, or youthful student.

Second, I am reminded of his efforts in behalf of farm-to-market roads, and I have told on previous occasions of my close association with this particular legislative incident. It bears repeating at this time.

This occurred in 1944 when our colleague was serving as Speaker in the 78th Congress. I was in SAM RAYBURN's office in the Capitol when Congressman Robinson of Utah came in. Bill Robinson was chairman of the House committee dealing with roads and highways. He had come to ask the Speaker to permit floor consideration of the highway bill. At once SAM RAYBURN asked what was contained in the bill for country roads. Robinson replied that at present nothing had been definitely designated, but it was expected that a part of the authorized funds would be spent on secondary roads.

Mr. Sam replied without hesitation and with firm conviction in his voice that the bill should be returned to the committee, 30 percent of the funds should be earmarked for farm-to-market roads, committee agreement reached, and then the House would give favorable consideration to the bill. On that day in 1944 the bill was agreed upon and shortly thereafter passed. Its advantages have continued. Hard surface roads to the farms of America have indeed benefited the entire Nation and especially eased the burden of those who produce our food.

We know in truth, my friends, that the late Sam Rayburn was possessed with a generous quantity of wisdom. It has often been said that his techniques of leadership were far more productive than an authoritarian, uncompromising, or militantly partisan approach. Mr. Rayburn has said, and I quote:

> You cannot lead people by trying to drive them. Persuasion and reason are the only ways to lead them. In that way the Speaker has influence and power in the House.

His loyalties are well known to this gathering. High regard was fittingly observed for him in the funeral services in his hometown of Bonham, Tex. Many Members of this body journeyed to Bonham for the sorrowful occasion in token of their respect and grief over his passing. By their personal attendance, they also honored Texas for giving such an illustrious man to the Nation.

Truthfully it may be said that the death of Sam Rayburn is a great loss to the Nation and the world. Indeed, in these times when freedom-loving peoples everywhere look to the United States for leadership, the loss of Mr. Rayburn is especially lamented. Peace, security, freedom, and opportunity for all men of good will were uppermost in his heart and mind.

Among the citizens of Texas, among his friends and neighbors in his beloved State, the loss is felt most keenly. He was known as a friend, as a good neighbor. He was ever ready to give a hand in a worthy cause.

Mr. RAYBURN's statesmanship was reflected by the attitudes of his colleagues in both Democratic and Republican Parties. His sound advice to new Members will remain in the activities of those who listened and took heed. He was a politician of soldierly courage, a friend and brother. His pathway was weaponed by a sense of right and sweetened by the spirit of genuineness, surpassing the frictions of life. He labored on until the eveningtime. His spirit will continue to walk with us and inspire us.

History will record SAM RAYBURN's career as one of the most distinguished to hold office in the Congress of the United States. He held high rank in the councils of his beloved Democratic Party. During foul weather, as well as in fair, all during his career he fought the battles of his party with dignity and honor.

SAM RAYBURN was a distinguished parliamentarian and was from the outset of his career one of the ablest debaters in the Congress. His philosophic turn of mind helped him to overlook the faults of others, but he could profoundly evaluate and magnify and appreciate the good traits of friend and foe alike.

Such a man was SAM RAYBURN. He has gone from our midst. To his family we extend our heartfelt sympathy. May the spirit of heaviness be lifted from their hearts in the knowledge that to his country he gave his entire being. His devotion to duty and his great value as a public servant will live without diminishing in the memory of mankind.

SAM RAYBURN

FUNERAL SERVICES FOR SPEAKER SAM RAYBURN, BY REV. BERNARD BRASKAMP, D.D., CHAPLAIN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AND ELDER H. G. BALL, PASTOR OF THE PRIMITIVE BAPTIST CHURCH, TIOGA, TEX.

SCRIPTURE READINGS BY THE CHAPLAIN

Psalm 95: 6: "O come, let us worship and bow down; let us kneel before the Lord, our Maker."

Psalm 27: 14: "Wait on the Lord; be of good courage, and He shall strengthen thine heart; wait, I say, on the Lord."

Psalm 90: 1–2: "Lord, Thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations.

"Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever Thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting, Thou art God."

Psalm 23: "The Lord is my Shepherd; I shall not want. He maketh me to lie down in green pastures; He leadeth me beside the still waters; He restoreth my soul; He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for His name's sake.

"Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for Thou art with me; Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me.

"Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies; Thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over.

"Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life; and I will dwell in the house of the Lord forever."

PRAYER BY THE CHAPLAIN

Most merciful and ever-blessed God, in the life of each of us, there are times and experiences when all our feelings seem to impose silence, but, encouraged by every gracious invitation in Thy Holy Word, we are approaching Thy throne of grace through the old and familiar way of prayer which is never closed to those who come unto Thee with a humble spirit and a contrite heart.

Gratefully and humbly we worship and adore Thee as the Author and Disposer of our life, from Whom our spirits have come, and to Whom they shall return, confidently acknowledging that in Thy divine keeping and control are the coming in and the going out of all our days.

In these hours of sacred memory, we are earnestly beseeching Thee to put Thy arms of love around the members of the bereaved family, drawing them to Thyself with the cords of love and clothing them with the garments of praise for the spirit of heaviness.

Our hearts are filled with rejoicing that they are not murmuring and complaining nor turning their eyes upon the ground, whence no help can come, but lifting them heavenward and unto Thee, for Thou art the God of all consolation and too wise to err and too kind to injure.

May they daily avail themselves of the companionship of our blessed Lord, who sticketh closer than a brother; placing their hands in His and hearing and heeding His voice of gentle stillness saying unto them, "This is the way, walk ye therein for My ways are the ways of pleasantness and My paths are the paths of peace."

We thank Thee for the life and character and ministry of Thy servant whom Thou hast called to dwell with Thee in eternal blessedness. We shall miss him for his place will be empty but Thou hast opened unto him the gateway to the larger and more abundant life and received him unto Thy nearer presence. As Thou didst not lose him in giving him to us, so we have not lost him by his return to Thee.

We rejoice that whatever was noble and beautiful in his life, in Thy sight and in ours, will abide forever. Accept our praise for Thy grace which kindled within his heart a love for his Saviour and that he will forever be remembered among those who do justly, love mercy and walk humbly with the Lord and seek to serve their generation according to Thy holy will.

Our hearts are filled with gratitude for the testimony of his colleagues whose lives were enriched by his friendship and who daily had the joy and privilege of walking and working with him. They are continually calling to mind his many years of service and finding themselves inspired by his genius and skill in the business of statecraft, his faith and fortitude, his patriotism, his devotion to the duties of his high vocation, and his generous good will to all mankind.

We have not said "farewell" to him, but only "good-night," assured that on some blessed morning we shall meet and dwell with him in hallowed union in that fairer land whose language is music and where joys are unceasing. Help us to live out each day in faith and in faithfulness so that at the eventide of life we also may receive the diadem of Thy praise and a glorious welcome to that kingdom which Thou hast prepared for the faithful and all who love Thee.

"May the Lord bless us and keep us; the Lord make His face to shine upon us and be gracious unto us; the Lord lift upon us the light of His countenance and give peace." Amen.

A TRIBUTE TO THE HONORABLE SAM RAYBURN, BY ELDER H. G. BALL

We are paying loving tribute of respect and honor to one who has been a friend to us all. Words are found inadequate, and yet they have a meaning. Flowing words of men and platitudes and pens have described some of the greatness of our good friend who has been drawn from the walks of this life; and yet, we feel in our hearts, as individuals, there is something we, ourselves, would like to say in the passing of God's child from the walks of life in this world. Death inevitably brings a depth of sorrow to the hearts of loved ones and to the extent that their lives have reached out to the multitude of people, such as our good friend's life has. It makes us realize that not only are we sorrowful in our hearts, but that the world—most of it—is weeping with us. There are few people in the world whose lives have touched the lives of so many. There are few people who have been fortunate enough with health and training to give the compassionate loving kindness to those who were less fortunate than themselves. Such was the life of our good friend, Speaker of the House of our United States.

The poor, the lowly, and the less fortunate of life were objects of his consideration and compassion, and many a time have they felt the touch of his kindness, his kindly words, and the realization of a faithful and devoted life. Such men are not born; they are made.

So, we realize, as the apostle has told us, "Him that is great among you, let him become your servant." In the field, on the farm not far from this place, the inspiration in the life of this man began. He climbed into the realms of higher things in life until he attained the place that he loved to live and labor. He lived and served in the capacity that he served so many years. He was a servant to so many people in the world. It is not a dreadful and fearful thing to be a servant. He served those whom he loved in the cause of freedom that our hearts seek after.

I think of the expression of the Apostle Paul, "I am now all things to all men." Paul was able to meet the great of the earth or the poor, the noble or the agnostic, and he was able to bring himself in harmony with them and their life so that they might be of service to the classes of men in the world. And so, our good friend made himself a servant, not of the classes but of all the men and women and the boys and the girls and the children who have fought for and loved the freedom that our great country affords us. He maintained this out of his energy. Now he can say, in the language of the Apostle Paul in his letter, "I have fought a good fight." Of the people who knew our good friend, they know he has fought a good fight. In the liberties and freedom of our country he has fought a good fight. For the friends in this community and all those he represented, he has fought a good fight. He has been a fair and loyal man. He has kept faith, not only with the people of Fannin County, but the adjoining counties. He has kept faith with the democracy of our country. I think it can be truthfully and nobly said, "He has finished his course."

I am sure that had it been the Lord's will to lengthen his life, even for another 10 years, he would have been happy to fight our battles and fight for the rights that he so nobly stood for. He was ready for his going. The time of his departure was at hand. He has met it nobly, not fearing the consequences of death nor of the hereafter. He not only met the national and community obligations, but he met it as a faithful servant of God. I think no man could have been able to have faithfully served so well without the love of God in his heart to administer and to lead to righteous conclusions.

The achievements of his life have been rehearsed by some of our hearers. Some of the great, noble things that he has done has been commemorated time and again, but it has been said that the most noble thing that he has done was to aline himself with the church and the Father that he so much loved. He accomplished many objectives and achievements, but I am sure there is no achievement or honor that has come to us in life as great as following the Lord Jesus Christ. He has been an example of faithful devotion because of his conviction in faith and in the reality of the training of his early years. In this, we realize that God's child has a bright future, which is eternal.

I am reminded in my thinking of the Lord when he led the children of Egypt. The Lord, I am sure, was the light that lighted the path, but it was the Lord himself who darkened the way to prevent the children of Egypt from being taken into bondage. So, death brings to us a deep penitence of grief and the realization that our loved ones are separated from us for a time. It may seem that darkness is over us in that respect, but to our good friend, the sunshine of God's everlasting love has lighted his path into eternal glory where there will be no strife, nor war or destructions, but where all will be eternal peace. These are promises that the Lord has made for us, "when our earthly tabernacle is gone, we have a place in heaven." This is God's promise to to his children. Though the soul has taken its last flight, the mortal soul that made him the loving man that he was, has gone back to God to bask in the everlasting sunshine until the morning of the resurrection.

In the 15th chapter of I Corinthians, He tells us that our bodies are natural, but they will be raised spiritual; that they are corruptible, but they shall be raised incorruptible. This is God's promise. The fulfilling of the promise of God by your good friend and mine has lived and died. I would like to leave with his very devoted family these words. He said: "Let not your heart be troubled. You believe in God, believe also in Me. In my Father's house are many mansions. If it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you, and if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto Myself that where I am, there ye may be also."

I would like to emphasize one thought. Jesus said: "I go to prepare a place for you." To some, we think He was talking to our friend. Suppose that when he was a boy the Lord had said: "SAM, I go to prepare a place for you, and if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come and receive you unto Myself." So, when you come to think of your loved one, try to think of the glories that the Lord has prepared for him into which we all hope, by the goodness of God, to enter.

In the abiding faith that we have in God, and in His unerring spirit, we continue to live and trust in Him.

CHAPLAIN'S SERVICE AT THE GRAVE

"I am the resurrection and the life, saith the Lord; he that believeth Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live, and whosoever liveth and believeth on Me, shall never die for we know that, if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.

"For as much as Almighty God hath taken unto himself the soul of our brother departed, we therefore commit his body to the grave, earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust, looking for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come, through our Lord, Jesus Christ.

"I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, 'Write, blessed are the dead, who die in the Lord, from henceforth; yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.' "

BENEDICTION BY THE CHAPLAIN

"The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God and of His Son Jesus Christ, our Lord; and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, be among you and remain with you always.

"Now unto Him who is able to keep you from falling, and to present you faultless before the presence of His glory with exceeding joy; to the only wise God, our Saviour, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and ever.

"The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit, be with us all." Amen.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, some months have passed since the death of Speaker SAM RAYBURN on Thursday, November 16 of last year. Yet we all continue to be affected by his passing and, of course, I shall be to the end of my days. The loss in terms of personality is, as I see it, a national calamity. For it is precisely in this decade—the decade of the sixties—that I had hoped to see the application of his experience, his wisdom, and his leadership for the good of this House and of our country and of world peace exercised in the effective manner that he was so capable of doing.

It is up to us all here to see to it that the loss—while irreparable—is not total. We must continue to think of the life of SAM RAYBURN as a fountain source at which we can, each of us, replenish our own strength for the tasks in the Nation's service that confronts us. It is to his memory, to the example he set, to the integrity he upheld with such granite determination that we should go for guidance as we move up the path of our country's future.

For me, it will be impossible to rise at the podium where he stood for so many years, to wield the gavel he held in his hand, to address this House without somehow, through the influence and the chemistry of memory, deriving a spiritual and an intellectual substance from this extraordinary American.

There is a contact that even death cannot break.

I hardly knew an hour, in the relationship of a lifetime, when my thinking and his, my sense of strategy and his, were not pulling together. There was hardly an hour that his instinctive wisdom and his philosophy of free government and his decision were not mortised with whatever contribution I was able to make. He had that unusual gift of leadership that invited the opinions of others and knew how to produce remarkable results by the generous and effective implementation of the judgment of his lieutenants and his colleagues—even sometimes of the opposition.

SAM RAYBURN and I worked together as friends and as a team.

There are certain relationships among men giving rise to decisions of great moment that simply cannot be detailed because of their deeply personal qualities. There was much of this in the deportment of Sam Rayburn not only toward me, and particularly with me, but with all men. He did not talk merely as a legislator—as another legislator—or even to put it another way, as a lawyer with a client or a lawyer with another lawyer or an associate with a colleague. And, yet, there were all of these elements. For he was a legislator's legislator. But, there was also a far more effective and compelling quality which he conveyed and which transcended all the others. This was the quality of talking man to man. For me it was one of the prime secrets of his success as a leader. Wisdom was one of his greatest possessions—wisdom as the result of years of study and experience from which there developed an unerring sound judgment. How often have I seen his words of wisdom settle what to others present was a difficult and most complex question. There is an old saying, the soundness of which cannot be contradicted, and I quote, "There is no substitute for experience." This had particular application to Speaker Rayburn.

When, finally, after a wholesome and an immensely productive life he passed from us, he left behind him among his fellow legislators in this House, a simply incredible store of faith, of confidence in his word, and in his integrity. He left a legacy of admiration and friendship and affection. This is a legacy of affection and respect for which I can find no parallel anywhere in the history of this great institution of Government, the House of Representatives. Great men have stood on this spot and as Speaker administered the affairs of this House. Of them all, Speaker Sam Rayburn was without the shadow of a doubt the greatest. Moreover, I go back to the beginning, to the first Speaker, Frederick A. C. Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania, and 1789. To say that Speaker Rayburn was the greatest of them all is no way to diminish the stature of the distinguished Speakers who have graced this office.

The record of public service of Speaker RAYBURN was a most notable one. As others have referred to his great record, I shall not do so. But for almost a full half century he exercised monumental influence over the destinies of our country.

SAM RAYBURN had an intense love for the House of Representatives. During his lifetime as Speaker, more than twice as long as any other Speaker, he never permitted his great abilities, his amazing knowledge of the rules and of parliamentary law to carry him beyond the rules of the House or the dictates of the Constitution. SAM RAYBURN would never in his life for as much as a single moment have violated the established practices of the House, and he always insisted that the dignity and the prerogatives of the House be maintained.

The respect for SAM RAYBURN, the Democrat, leader of his party, and SAM RAYBURN, the Speaker, always impartial, made an immense contribution to the history of the House of Representatives. For SAM RAYBURN raised the dignity of the House, a dignity that has always been high. He drew closer in our own time to the immense awe and honor which we accord the Founding Fathers, and with the help of his colleagues be made the House of Representatives an institution that is a monument to the pride all Americans take in self-government.

Nobody can have lived as long as I have without having suffered great bereavements. This is the eternal tragedy of the human condition. Yet the death of SAM RAYBURN left a void that I find overwhelmingly personal, deep, and beyond repair. I look back over the years and over history with an enormous pride in my country, in its leadership and the leadership that succeeds leadership, and in the American people. I look back over whole generations of Americans whom I have personally known through an era of world-shaking wars, revolutions, depressions, panics. No single circumstance so focused my mind and my heart on this tumultuous age in world history as the personality, the character and the life of my friend and my mentor, SAM RAYBURN.

Finally, I would like to quote a line I used in the foreword to House Document No. 247, ordered by this 87th Congress in its 1st session. The document is a compilation of tributes to Speaker RAYBURN made in this Chamber. I then said:

> Congressmen see in Speaker RAYBURN what they most want to see in themselves—the sublime expression of the true patriot.

Mr. Speaker, to his sisters and his brother and other loved ones left behind, Mrs. McCormack and I extend our deep sympathy in their bereavement.

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Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, any effort on my part to further enhance the distinction enjoyed by our late beloved Speaker SAM RAYBURN of Texas as a giant among other historic champions of our constitutional government would be a poor addition to the testimony we who knew him so well have offered through the years.

Many men are eulogized only after they have left this earth; SAM RAYBURN, by our sincere words of praise in his presence, was one of those fortunate mortals who knew beyond all doubt of the deep affection and genuine respect of his friends and colleagues.

Every man leaves a heritage.

The heritage of SAM RAYBURN is a manual of qualities for any Member of this House aspiring to a position of useful leadership.

In that manual are many lessons.

There are the lessons of integrity, of fairness and justice, of courage and tenacity of purposes.

There are lessons that can be taught only by one with a deep understanding of the science of government as we practice it.

There is the lesson of the necessity to find common legislative denominators—the lesson of compromise without desertion of principle—so essential to the successful operation of the Congress under a two-party system.

And there is the lesson of realism; of recognizing facts and circumstances and learning that life is a mixture of successes and failures.

I spoke of our respect and affection.

Why did we respect SAM RAYBURN?

We respected him because we knew him as a man of his word who asked only that others accord him the same assurance of good faith.

We respected him for the dignity with which he conducted himself and for his intense dedication to his responsibilities to both sides of the political aisle as Speaker.

We respected him for the deep pride he took in the traditions of the House of Representatives and we stood with him in his zealous guardianship of House prerogatives.

And what was the basis for the deep affection we all felt for this grand American?

His stern demeanor certainly was no veneer to hide a shy and timid nature.

But neither was his rugged manner the mark of antipathy toward his fellow man.

The SAM RAYBURN I knew for so many years was inherently a gentleman with a genuine fondness for people he could respect.

And I can attest that he had a healthy sense of humor, that balance wheel no one who would lead can long be without.

Finally, our affection for SAM RAYBURN was borne of a feeling that this great House of Representatives, of which we are all a part, was his very life, and as he was devoted to us, we were devoted to him.

SAM RAYBURN is assured an eminent position in the history of our Republic.

And he is assured an eminent place in the hearts and memories of all of us who were so privileged to serve here with him.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, it was most appropriate that the distinguished dean of the Texas delegation should have yielded first to our beloved Speaker, then to the distinguished leader of the Republican Party in this House, because if ever there was an issue on which there was bipartisan agreement it was the matter of the affection and love and admiration and respect which each Member of this Chamber had for our late beloved Speaker, SAM RAYBURN.

I feel humble in following these distinguished men who worked with Speaker RAYBURN for so many years so closely. With them I extend my own condolences to his family—his brother, his two sisters, his many nieces and nephews and collateral relatives. To the people of his district we all extend our thanks for the quality of representation which they have furnished this House for so many years.

With the entire Nation we mourn the passing of one of the great legislative geniuses of all time. Volumes have been written praising "Mr. Speaker," the great leader of this House. "Mr. Democrat," the man who symbolized the principles of his party. "Mr. SAM," a great and good man.

But no biographer could ever have known SAM RAYBURN, the legislator, as we, his colleagues, knew him.

His long and active life spanned a period of dynamic history during which some of our Nation's most critical decisions were made.

Few men have lived to see their judgment vindicated on so many important questions. Still fewer have received the accolades of a grateful people with such humility and grace.

SAM RAYBURN attained the pinnacle by fulfilling his own highest desire.

He always said, "The greatest ambition a man can have is to be known as a just man," and he was that.

We are all familiar with the background of our own beloved SAM RAYBURN.

He was born to the land and never lost his love and respect for the soil.

As a youngster, he knew hard times and never forgot the problems—and the joys—of farm life.

He believed a man needed a goal in life, that it should be determined early, and that everything should point toward its achievement.

His personal heroes, Robert E. Lee and Joseph Weldon Bailey, a local congressman who later became a U.S. Senator, personified his purpose.

Young SAM was only 13 when he set his sights on being Speaker of the House of Representatives and chose to follow his heroes in a career of public service.

To the everlasting credit of the people of Texas' Fourth Congressional District, they chose him as their representative in 1912 and returned him to this Congress for 25 consecutive terms.

It did not take Washington any longer to recognize this young man of ability than it did Texas.

Within a few short years, he gained respect as an able legislator.

During the early days of the New Deal, he served as the architect of many of the Roosevelt administration's programs: the Railroad Holding Company Act, the Truth in Securities Act, the Securities and Exchange Act, the Utility Holding Company Act, the Rural Electrification Act, and the Federal Communications Act.

These measures stand today as monuments to a great legislative builder.

He grew in wisdom and judgment under the tutelage of the notable Nicholas Longworth and fellow Texan John Nance Garner.

In 1940, he realized his boyhood dream as he ascended the Speaker's chair.

This is the well-known record of Mr. Speaker, the leader of the House of Representatives and Mr. Democrat, the symbol of his party.

But it does not tell the story of Mr. SAM, the man.

That story is etched in the hearts of all who knew him.

Sam Rayburn was like a father to me and to all of us who have grown up in the "Rayburn School of Political Science."

I doubt there is a Member of this House, on either side of the aisle, who did not at some time benefit from his kindness.

He loved people and, most important, he believed in them and their inherent goodness and wisdom.

He loved the House of Representatives and respected every Member as a representative of the people.

He viewed election to public office as the highest honor conceivable and a sacred trust.

He was a model of the principles he espoused.

In my close association with him as part of the leadership, I never saw him ask a man to compromise his principles.

Many times, I saw him offer advice and assistance, politically and personally, with the understanding and compassion born of greatness.

The death of Mr. Rayburn came as a tremendous personal loss to me, as it did to most Members of this House.

In my own case, I had the honor of meeting and knowing Mr. Rayburn before I ever sought a seat in this body.

His district and mine face each other across the Red River. His home was less than 10 miles from the district which I represent. He represented a land where my people have lived for generations. My maternal grandfather was born in the city of Sherman in his congressional district in 1858. Hundreds of his former constituents are now constituents of mine. He had close personal friends all over my congressional district.

We, the people of Oklahoma, loved him as he was loved in his own great State and district.

He was widely referred to in my State as the Congressman at Large from Oklahoma, a fact to which he himself often personally alluded.

He was our friend; he was my friend. We shall long miss him.

I cannot but believe Mr. Rayburn would be touched by the sadness of the colleagues he loved on this occasion.

But I believe he would ask that we temper our sorrow with the admonition that we look to the future, that we move ahead with the progressive spirit that characterized his long and brilliant service here.

It is with heavy hearts that we bid farewell to Mr. SAM.

We will no longer have him physically with us, counseling, advising, cajoling, leading. But spiritually SAM RAYBURN always will be with us and with every future Member of the House.

His spirit lingers, his influence pervades, his goodness encompasses this House as surely as justice, integrity, and duty are its cornerstones.

SAM RAYBURN symbolized these qualities and his memory will live as long as they remain the hallmark of America. With God's help, that will be forever.

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Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, this session of Congress begins in an atmosphere of profound sadness. For the first time in many years, a familiar and beloved face fails to look down upon us from the Speaker's rostrum. For the first time in 48 years, we do not have mingling with us a man whom all admired, loved, and respected.

With the passing of our beloved Speaker RAYBURN, one of the greatest Americans of this era, or any other era, departed this earthly life for another world, where we are sure he will find the happiness and contentment which should come to one who has lived a good and fruitful life.

SAM RAYBURN's career was dedicated to the service of his country. Although a stalwart Democrat, who strove mightily to advance the interests of his party, his constant and his principal concern was the welfare and progress of his country. Above party loyalty was his love of country. The interests of America were uppermost in his mind and heart, and in these days when there is so much selfishness in the world, it is refreshing to recall the good works of one who lived solely to make America a better land to live in.

One could consume hours in reciting the vast contributions Speaker RAYBURN made to the march of progress of America. While time is not available for such a narrative, it is, indeed, unnecessary because his great works are familiar to all.

He lived a good life and it can truly be said he left "footprints on the sands of time."

We shall all miss his warm friendship, his desire to help his colleagues whenever he could, and his delightful comradeship.

In a personal sense, his death was a tremendous loss to me. It ended a close friendship of 37 years, a friendship that became stronger and firmer with each passing day. This friendship was never marred in the least by conflicting views which sometimes arose over issues of the day. If we disagreed, we were never disagreeable to each other.

As life goes on and we grow older, we develop a keener sense of friends whom we trust and love. SAM RAYBURN was such a friend.

The State of Texas and all America have lost a great and devoted statesman. His name will shine through history as one of the great men our country has produced. The world is better for his having lived.

My deepest sympathy goes to his fine family.

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Mr. VINSON. Mr. Speaker, when the free world suffers a grievous loss; when our Nation loses an irreplaceable patriot; and when the Congress loses one of the stalwart pillars of its very foundation, it is difficult to find words that can adequately explain the tragedy that has occurred.

And in addition to the loss that mankind and the Congress has experienced in SAM RAYBURN's death, I have suffered a heartfelt personal loss.

SAM RAYBURN and I came to the House of Representatives in the same Congress—he in 1913, at the beginning of the 63d Congress, and I in 1914 toward the end of the 63d Congress.

For 47 years I observed SAM RAYBURN's stature grow in the eyes of the Congress, in the hearts of the American people, and in the opinion of the free world.

My affection for him grew with each year of our association. My respect and admiration for him was, and remains, unlimited. My life has been enriched by a friendship that lasted almost half a century.

His integrity, his fairness, and his wisdom were the personal characteristics that made him great; but beyond that, he had an understanding of people, an amazing knowledge of the legislative system, and the satisfaction of knowing that he played a vital role in the incomparable heights which America attained during his lifetime.

In his veins flowed the blood of patriots and the unfailing confidence of the pioneers who developed this Nation to heights unparalleled in the growth of civilization.

This heritage and these virtues, these personal attributes, this knowledge, all combined together to produce an American who was molded in the same clay that produced Andrew Jackson and Robert E. Lee.

His life was dedicated to America. He devoted every moment of his waking hours to espousing the causes which have made our Nation the unchallenged leader of the free world.

He was not afraid of progress, instead he advanced it; he was not afraid to venture into new fields simply because they had never been tried before, instead he approached each new cause with an amazing intuition for separating the practical from the idealistic.

He had boundless energy, and the courage of his convictions.

When the history of the 20th century is finally written, SAM RAYBURN will take his place high on the list of the few very great men of this century.

Whenever American heroes and the true giants of America are discussed in the years to come, SAM RAYBURN will be among those who will never be forgotten.

We have all suffered a heavy loss, but I know that if he were here today, he would urge us, with all of his might, to maintain the traditions of those early American patriots whom he emulated in thought and action.

America can be very grateful that he lived on this earth. The amazing story of his life and his contributions to the might of America will become indelible in the minds of persons yet unborn.

Sam Rayburn raised the dignity of the Congress; added great respect to the office of the Speaker; and left behind him a legacy to be nurtured and cherished by all who are privileged to follow him in the vital role of Speaker of the House of Representatives.

He has become a part of our American heritage.

His life and his achievements will be emulated—but they will never be surpassed.

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Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, this is the first time in almost half a century that the Congress of the United States foregathers without the presence of Sam Rayburn.

And it is the first time in a quarter of a century that the House of Representatives convenes in a new session without our beloved late Speaker in some role of leadership in either the Democratic Party delegation or the House itself.

Among all of the 43 Speakers who preceded him in that exalted position—back to the first session of the first Congress in 1789—none served with greater distinction.

Sam Rayburn fulfilled completely the pledge he made when first elected Speaker on September 16, 1940, to uphold "the prerogatives and powers of the House of Representatives."

He restored this body to its proper eminence and position in the structure of Government established under our Constitution by the Founding Fathers.

He elevated the speakership to a new high level of prestige and public respect.

The simple dignity of the man, his granite integrity, the restraint with which he exercised his vast power, the kindness and consideration for all with whom he came in contact—from the most distinguished personages to the humblest employee of this House—won for him a place in the hearts of all Americans. In his own lifetime he became a legend and a symbol beloved as Mr. Democrat and Mr. Congress.

In the 173 years' history of this body no other man served longer as a Member or longer in the speakership than SAM RAYBURN. However, his greatness does not rest alone upon that record tenure of 49 years in the House and 17 years as Speaker, but, rather upon the caliber of his leadership.

Over the years the character of that leadership and the philosophy upon which it was based became clear to those of us who were fortunate enough to have had the opportunity of working closely with him.

To Mr. RAYBURN the U.S. House of Representatives epitomized the American way of political life—a free forum, operating under a body of traditional rules and precedents, for the expression of the will of a free people. One of the few such parliamentary bodies remaining upon this earth—and he preserved it.

What was the secret of SAM RAYBURN's success in his masterful operation of the House? How, even in the face of normal human and political obstacles to the enactment of legislation, not to mention his other multiple duties, did he consistently manage to bring about the enactment of major legislation, much of it controversial?

He was able to do it, first, because his colleagues trusted him. He earned that faith by honoring his promises. There was nothing of higher value than Mr. SAM's word.

Second, he respected every Member's right to his own convictions, regardless of party. He might question a man's judgment on an issue. He might try to persuade him to his own point of view, or seek his vote in a matter that did not adversely affect the Member in his own district, but he never pressured or "drove" people, or pushed them in order to try to get his own way.

When a Member whose vote he sought could not conscientiously go along, SAM RAYBURN did not alienate him by overinsistence. He accepted him at his word. This understanding of another man's position was appreciated and always sooner or later was reciprocated in good will that paid off in the form of support on another critical occasion.

A third factor in the Speaker's success was the helping hand and advice which he gave to new Members. They appreciated it and over the years this interest and assistance in their problems—this bread upon the waters, if you please—was returned in manifold degree.

Fourth, and finally, Speaker RAYBURN was a plain, unadorned, and unhyphenated Democrat, with a big capital "D." He defied any label of conservative, liberal, moderate, or middle-of-the-road. He was above the clamor of divisive cliques, blocs, factions or coalitions. He put his country first, his party second. He judged legislation on whether it was good for the country. He followed the simple belief that if a Democratic Congress gave the people good and beneficial legislation they would return a Democratic majority. This proved true.

And he did not think that compromise was necessarily an ugly word. He tried to persuade all whom he could of the rightness of his stand. But—he never sacrificed the principle.

His view of the problems and ills of the world and of this Nation was summed up in the phrase he often used:

> A little applied Christianity would help.

And so he felt to the very end.

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Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to our late beloved Speaker, SAM RAYBURN, of blessed memory.

SAM RAYBURN came to the Congress in 1913, the same year that Woodrow Wilson became President of the United States and we had our first billion dollar budget.

From 1913 to 1921, SAM RAYBURN saw and helped America grow into a great world power. He was destined then to become one of the great leaders of our country.

When President Franklin D. Roosevelt came to the Presidency in the depth of the great depression, SAM RAYBURN, as chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, was a tower of strength to him. SAM RAYBURN loved the House of Representatives and was devoted to duty. He was responsible for putting many acts on the statute books that brought security and confidence to the American people.

Yes, SAM RAYBURN was Speaker of the House longer than any other man before him, but he was never too busy to stop for a kind word, he was always available to lend his sound advice, words of wisdom, and counsel to both new and old Members of the House.

SAM RAYBURN was one of the greatest public figures this world has ever known. He has left a fine heritage to the American people and to the Members of Congress now serving and those who will follow in the years to come. I shall always be grateful for the many years of my life that I was privileged to spend under his leadership and guidance.

It is my fervent prayer that from his peaceful heavenly abode, SAM RAYBURN will smile down upon the Members of the House, and that he will continue to lend his guiding hand as we carry on our duties. The world is fuller and richer for the life of SAM RAYBURN, his devotion to God and man. I extend my heartfelt sympathy to his loved ones in these saddened days.

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Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, it was less than a year ago, on June 12, 1961, that many of us took the well of the House to support a resolution introduced by the then distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr.

McCormack], now the Speaker, honoring the occasion of Speaker RAYBURN's having served at that time twice as long as Speaker of the House of Representatives as any man who had preceded him in that office. I took the liberty at that time of checking some of the records of some legislators and I discovered then, and I repeat now, that Speaker RAYBURN had not only served twice as long as any other man in the high office of Speaker, but few men in the history of mankind have exceeded his service in any legislative body. He ranks in time of service with men like Balfour, Churchill, and Gladstone.

On that occasion those of us who loved him—and I think that included every Member of this body—while he was still alive—sought to take a look at him in the flesh. Now that I have thought some more about it I, too, would like to add just a few more sentences about what made this extraordinary American leader what he was. We have heard these beautiful tributes paid by the leaders of this House. There are few new words that can be used, because these words are the ones which define the man.

My colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Walter], talked about character; and he did have character, and he had rugged honesty—he despised the phony.

No one ever thought of questioning his word. When a Member said, "The Speaker said this," nobody even thought it might be otherwise.

The distinguished majority leader referred to his judgment and he quoted a phrase Mr. RAYBURN so often used himself: "That if a man has the finest education in the world but lacks judgment he cannot be a leader."

Mr. RAYBURN had magnificent judgment. Some time ago I read an analysis, and I thought it was a rather keen analysis, of the functions of leadership in the House. Some people seem to think that the great function of the Speaker, the majority and minority leaders, and others in leadership, is simply to echo one opinion; namely, that of the administration that may be in power. Those of us who have served here know that is not so.

The function of leadership is much more important and much more complex because it is to translate the mood of the House which we know reflects the mood of the Nation. Speaker RAYBURN had almost a second sense about this. He could translate to the many Presidents with whom he served as Speaker, as majority leader, as a distinguished committee chairman and as a Member of our body, the sentiment of our body, and in doing so he conveyed to these Presidents the sentiment of our Nation and contributed immensely and immeasurably to the strength and the freedom of America.

There are so many instances that come to my mind about the judgment of this man. One I recall vividly which will live with me as long as I live. I was in Los Angeles when the present President, Mr. Kennedy, was nominated by the Democratic Party. On the next morning he offered the Vice Presidential nomination on his ticket to the distinguished majority leader of the other body, the present Vice President, Mr. Johnson of Texas. In typical manner the now Vice President said to the now President, "The man whom I must consult is the man with whom I have been closest throughout my life, the Speaker of the House of Representatives." By a gratuitous event it became my lot to talk to the Speaker, stressing my belief that this was in the interest of the United States of America. As always his good judgment prevailed. He clearly saw the wisdom of the course, and it was upon the use of that judgment that Mr. Johnson became the vice presidential candidate and ultimately the Vice President of the United States.

He had many other qualities, Mr. Speaker. As the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Walter] said a moment ago, he had compassion and understanding. Men may have many qualities but if they lack compassion they may as well have none. Of course, to separate compassion from understanding is an impossibility. Mr. RAYBURN had both. He never pressed a Member beyond the point of no return. He understood the position of a Member regardless of how difficult it would make his own life, and in return therefore he earned the undying friendship, the love and affection of the Members of this body, regardless of how much they may have disagreed with him on specific issues. He had incomparable knowledge, but with it great humility.

The majority leader referred to his association with the Speaker's district. I happened to have been present with the new majority leader in Sherman, Tex., on a day late in December 1959. There the citizens of Mr. RAYBURN's home district gave him a testimonial luncheon. It was quite obvious that though he had associated for many years with Presidents, monarchs, heads of states, Cabinet members, and had been the third ranking member in the Government of the United States, he had never lost touch with the ordinary man. The love and devotion which was demonstrated on that occasion is something I shall remember always.

This was illustrated in so many ways. You have heard a recitation of great acts in which he was interested, the SEC, the Railroad Holding Act, and countless others. But despite all that, he never lost interest in rural roads, in the REA, in the farm programs, and the things which most intimately touched Bonham, Tex., and the area nearby. Yet this man had not one iota of provincialism about him. He was the most unparochial man I ever knew. He thought about the United States as one great, vast Nation.

Sectionalism was something completely foreign to his nature. I remember when we passed the resolution here commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Civil War, or the War Between the States, and someone wanted to reenact that bloody struggle to create publicity. He almost winced when he said: "Lord, can't we forget this mistake into which we were led 100 years ago rather than rekindle and revive the sectionalism and the hatreds which went with it?"

He understood the speakership. You know, the word "Speaker" is an interesting word. It comes from the ancient parliamentary practices and early parliamentary system of Great Britain. The Speaker was a man who was selected by his peers in the Commons to appear before the King and his Ministers, and there present the views of the Members of the Commons, so that the Speaker was literally the representative speaker, the man who spoke for the representatives of the people. There was never a man who more eloquently or more perfectly met this definition. Mr. Rayburn knew how to articulate representative government. He was the very essence of the institution. He said many times that "The House of Representatives has been my life, my love, my romance" and he meant it and he lived it. Because of him and because of this understanding and because of this dedication, we are a greater Nation.

Finally, he had faith. He had faith in himself and in his colleagues. He did not overemphasize his ability, but he well understood his talents and his ability. He used to say that people will never lose confidence in you except for what you yourself do. He had faith in his country. He served during two great World Wars. He lived to bridge the time from the horse and buggy to the jet planes and the intercontinental missiles, and yet in an interview which appeared in a national magazine printed just a day or two before it was announced that he was suffering from incurable cancer, he reiterated this faith in the future of the United States and pointed out that we enjoy today more freedom, we have greater prosperity, greater abundance, than at any time in the recorded history of mankind and in all the history of all the peoples of mankind.

This faith was notable in his confidence in young people. How many of you had the experience of taking a group of schoolchildren into his office here, watching him as he took time from a busy schedule to talk to them and to quietly enkindle in them love of country, love of our institutions.

So this, my colleagues, was a great and a good man. I personally have suffered a tremendous loss. I think the last trip that he took was one arranged by the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Baker]. I had the great honor of being on that trip. He went to his native county, Roane County, Tenn., where a dam was dedicated and named for him. I remember sitting in a little boat fishing on a beautiful lake in the Tennessee Valley country, and he reminisced there about his boyhood and his early days, and he used again that expression that so many of you have heard so many times when he said his father told him, as he left to enter a small college in Texas, "Son, be a man."

This was a man, a man whom we shall miss, but whose imprint upon this country will be one for good and strength long after all of us have left this earth.

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Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, when any of us loses an old and dear and trusted friend, it is natural to use the strongest and most superlative words we can think of to describe that beloved friend. Our personal associations and attachments cause us to speak of him in the highest terms.

But today we are paying tribute to one for whom no superlative is adequate, or an exaggeration.

We cannot but think, at first of our own sadness at being deprived of his living presence. Last year I had the acute pain, as a physician, of watching his strong physique week by week go downhill. Until he finally had to return to his Texas, he pretended that it was not serious. But any doctor knew that a man who is 79 years old and has never been sick, and then begins to melt away before your eyes, is mortally afflicted.

But actually we should turn from our sadness at our own loss to concentrate, rather, on the extraordinary good fortune—and give thanks for it—which we in this House have had in being privileged to know and work under and with a man of the greatness of SAM RAYBURN, a man whose bigness, if I were to use one word for it, in every situation equaled or surpassed that of anyone we have known.

Mr. Speaker, I have sat here on the minority side for 15 years with Speaker RAYBURN in the chair, and right beyond him in our line of vision is the portrait of George Washington. I have often thought of the complete uniqueness of each of these men in his own strong way. I do not know any American since George Washington who has made a greater impact and left a deeper imprint on the development of this Republic than Speaker SAM RAYBURN.

Those men at the Constitutional Convention wrote:

> We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union.

It was the work of Washington to guide the formation of the Union and the work of Lincoln to preserve it, but no man has wielded greater influence on the steady growth, strengthening and development of that Union—striving ever to make it more perfect than has Speaker RAYBURN.

Mr. Speaker, as a man he was one whom we admired beyond our capacity to describe.

As a friend, all of us—we on the Republican side, quite as much as you on the Democratic side—were aware of his human qualities, his genuineness, his kindness, his interest in us, his faithfulness to friend on every occasion.

I want to add—and perhaps I can say this more appropriately than you of his own party—that I greatly admired and appreciated his partisanship, if you wish. He was a proud party man, a superb politician—this word which has been so often loosely used as if it represented something unworthy but which, properly understood, represents so utterly essential a quality of leadership if a Republic of this sort is to be maintained and to grow into an ever more perfect Union. He loved his party, and he operated openly as a partisan—for that is the way effective men in government get things done. I watched with admiration the way he worked with his party, persuading, organizing, jockeying, maneuvering—to get his party to take the position that he felt was right.

But, while I admired his skill as a party man—and only wished we had him on our side—I admired still more the transformation that took place when he walked from the Democratic side of the House, or the desk of Democratic leadership over there, up into the Speaker's chair. He never was a Democrat there; he was Speaker of the whole House of Representatives. He had a genuine reverence for this body. He guarded so jealously and zealously its integrity and its institutions and its traditions, which he properly saw, not as something sentimental, but as something vital, if this stalwart bulwark of a man's freedom is to be preserved and grow stronger.

Mr. Speaker, never once in the years I have sat under him—and everyone here will testify to this as being true through all his years in that exalted office—never once as Speaker did he shade a decision or cut off a Member or take advantage of an interruption or a misunderstanding to gavel through a measure without utmost judiciousness, even though that measure was very dear to his heart and he had worked long and hard to develop support for it.

Never once did he use his position in the Chair as Speaker to achieve that which it was his proper desire and duty to seek to accomplish as leader of his party.

Surely as someone has already said, here was a giant whose equal we shall not soon see again. Indeed, we shall never see his equal again. Fortunate is the country that has one such man in a century. All I want to do now is to express my deep personal appreciation for the extraordinary privilege of having had the opportunity to sit here in this Chamber and to get to know and to be counted a friend of the gentleman from Texas, our departed Speaker.

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Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, it is hard to realize that Speaker RAYBURN is no longer among us. He had been so permanent—so enduring—so indestructible through the years. But, actually, the image of the late Speaker and his influence do remain with us today. This is good. We need his wholesome and sturdy spirit among us in these continuing days.

The Speaker loved the House of Representatives as an institution, and he loved the Members of the House as individuals. One of the proud recollections which I shall always treasure is the memory of his warm friendship through long years of service here.

We can best, Mr. Speaker, memorialize Speaker RAYBURN by carrying on in the House of Representatives the high standards of public service which he, himself, set.

Let us today solemnly resolve in our public duty to do honor and credit to the House which the late Speaker RAYBURN loved, and let us resolve as legislators to measure up to the highest possible traditions and standards of public service.

This would be the wish, in my opinion, of the late beloved Speaker RAYBURN whom we humbly seek to honor this day.

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Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, I deeply appreciate the opportunity to pay tribute to our warm friend, the late SAM RAYBURN. Following the example that Mr. RAYBURN set for us all, my remarks shall be brief.

One of the reasons our country has survived as the oldest continuing democracy in history is that our people have been able to raise up great leaders to help guide our destiny. SAM RAYBURN, from Bonham, was one of those leaders.

Historians tell us that it is too early to judge the impact of SAM RAYBURN's life on America, but when the chapters are finally written I believe history will not find 10 men whose contributions to our country rank with SAM RAYBURN's.

Each citizen of the free world owes much to SAM RAYBURN and those of us who served in Congress under his leadership know that his contributions have not ended with his death. His perceptive interest concerning others has left us with outstanding leadership which ably will continue to serve in the highest traditions of the Congress. And his abiding love for young people has left them a heritage rich in compassion and understanding.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, the mere idea of attempting to say anything which will add to the luster of Sam Rayburn's name is, of course, ridiculous on its face. As Abraham Lincoln so well said, "We cannot consecrate; the world will little note or long remember what we say here," but it will never forget what Sam Rayburn did here in this House of Representatives.

Probably all that we can do this afternoon is to attest our confidence in, and our admiration for, our great and universally revered Speaker.

Although the chilling hand of death—this time in my immediate family—requires that I be in Texas rather than in Washington at the time of delivery of memorials to our great Speaker, I have asked my colleague, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Burleson] to include my heartfelt tribute to the greatest of modern political leaders, the friend of every Member of this House and leader of forward-looking legislation for more than two generations, the Honorable Sam Rayburn.

Mr. Rayburn was a politician in the best sense of the word; he was a statesman, probably the greatest of his day and generation; and above all, he was an outstanding American and a man, respected by all his fellows.

I am proud that I was able to call him my friend for more than 25 years.

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Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, it seems almost presumptuous for me to attempt to say anything about our great and beloved former Speaker, Sam Rayburn. Both in life and in death, sentiments from thousands have been expressed in eloquence and in simplicity.

Some men and women in the history of our country must have been deceased for a considerable period of time before their greatness was realized and before their contribution to our Nation was recognized. Such is not the case of Sam

RAYBURN. For a long period he had his place in the sun. Those of us who had opportunity to observe his day to day actions in the affairs of our country, were aware of history being molded under his able and efficient leadership.

One of the most significant characteristics of Speaker RAYBURN was the fact, and I believe it to be indisputable, that he knew how to exercise authority. He had a great influence in the affairs of our Government. His influence did not altogether emanate from the authority of his position as Speaker of the House of Representatives. It flowed to him by virtue of his ability and his wisdom to exercise that influence and authority. He used it carefully, considerately and yes, even sparingly. He guarded it wisely and judiciously because he knew the power it could wield and because I know he felt that authority and influence without the highest degree of responsibility was a dangerous thing.

This was the great source and the great inspiration of his influence. This was the springwell for the tremendous respect and esteem that those of us who served here with him held for Speaker RAYBURN.

Under our system of government no man is or should be indispensable. We have able and dedicated leaders but SAM RAYBURN's passing off the scene, leaves a place which can never be filled exactly. His passing was the passing of an era. His passing was a loss to our Nation and to the world. His passing is the loss of a friend of all of us.

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Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, no mortal words which I might say here can add to the illustrious memory of the great and beloved SAM RAYBURN.

The first time I ever saw Mr. RAYBURN was in September 1948; the last time I saw him was in the hospital in October of last year. During that period I was afforded the privilege of what I like to believe was a close friendship which occurs only a few times in a man's life. His was more than a fatherly interest in me. As you know, he sought the association of younger men. And somehow, while I respected him as a great man with more maturity, more wisdom and more experience than others, I just never thought of him as being old.

Mr. Rayburn loved children, too. And I know from the reaction of our children, that young people returned that affection. Mrs. Thornberry, our three children and I have been enriched by his friendship and his interest in us.

Mr. Speaker, when the news of Mr. Rayburn's passing was announced, there came a solemn and sober moment in the lives, not only of those of us who knew him and loved him, but in the lives of countless people throughout this Nation and the world who never knew him personally. While we were staggered by an overwhelming sense of loss, a new sense of values took charge of our minds and heart.

Mr. Rayburn has rightly been called a magnificent parliamentarian, unexcelled and unequaled. He was recognized as a leader of his political associates. Now in retrospect we remember the many times in this Nation's history he rose above the political and partisan differences of the moment to fight with courage for the security of our country and the enduring freedom of men, women, and children everywhere. Some of the greatest periods in our history have unfolded here under his leadership.

Mr. Rayburn walked with kings and notables in high places during his lifetime—and yet never lost the common touch.

He talked with crowds and never lost the simple dignity which earned for him the affection, admiration, and devotion of all who ever knew him.

And now he is gone to that great place where, as we have been taught since childhood, he takes his immortal place among the great spirits who have earned their heavenly reward.

I could not conclude without a tribute to his great loyalty and devotion to his family. He never forgot his father and mother—what they had done for him. He loved his brothers and sisters. He talked of them often. To his sisters, Mrs.

Thomas and Mrs. Bartley; his brother, Mr. Dick Rayburn; his nephews and nieces, Mrs. Thornberry and I extend our sympathy with the knowledge that they have received and are receiving comfort and understanding because of the noble life he lived among them and among all of mankind on this earth.

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Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, when Mr. SAM RAYBURN passed away, America and the world lost one of the greatest human beings that ever lived. He was one of the most honest, honorable, and patriotic men I ever hope or expect to know. I had the privilege of enjoying a rather close association with him, and his presence will always be missed in this Chamber.

It was often said of Mr. RAYBURN, that he was a friend of Presidents, having served in the House of Representatives longer than any other individual, and having served as Speaker longer than any individual. But more than that, he was a friend of the people. Above anything in the world, he often expressed his personal desires of seeing that the people of America were the best cared for people in the world. He had the utmost faith in the judgment of the American people and always abided by their choices. He had a distinctive appreciation for the American system and respected above all else the office—not necessarily the man—in our political system.

It has often been said that the true mark of a man is the manner in which he wields the power he holds. Because of the office Mr. RAYBURN held, and the long period of time in which he held this high office, it can be truthfully said that he was probably the most powerful man in the United States. But in the many years that I had the pleasure of knowing and associating with him, he has in all ways used this power both wisely and judiciously, never to benefit himself, but always in behalf of others.

His loss was mourned by many around the world, and we in this body share this loss; but his memory and influence will be felt in the Congress for years to come.

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Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, eulogies have been spoken from the well of this House in memory of SAM RAYBURN. Books will be written in tribute to his life and career. None can fully do him justice.

By any standard of measurement, SAM RAYBURN ranks as the greatest lawmaker in the history of this Nation. More truly significant legislation bears the stamp of his authorship than that of any other man. He served longer in the Congress than any other man in history, and presided over this body twice as long as any other Speaker in the history of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Because of legislation sponsored by him, the average people of America live more comfortably and work more productively. Because of his concern, the blessings of our national prosperity are shared by the humblest family on the most unpretentious farm in America.

It was his lone vote that extended the draft in 1941 and saved us from being caught wholly unprepared by the sneak attack of the Japanese which catapulted us into World War II. It was his singular influence which prevailed upon the Congress to finance the development of the atomic bomb without divulging its secret, and thus hastened the end of that conflict with the attendant saving of untold thousands of American lives.

With the death of SAM RAYBURN, who filled the speakership longer than most of us have served in the Congress, an era has come to an end. Nothing will be quite the same. The stern visage, the courtly manner, the firm hand, and the painstaking fairness which were the Rayburn hallmarks had seemed inseparable parts of the House Chamber—as much so as the mace, the microphones, the galleries, and the cloakrooms.

No man or group of men can take his place or fill the void his passing leaves. For Sam Rayburn was more than a personality, and the leadership he exercised was more than inhered in the office he occupied. Mr. Rayburn was an institution, unique in the history of American government.

I remember a lazy Sunday in late summer, just before he left Washington for the last time. Eight or ten of us had gone out to Jefferson Island near the mouth of the Potomac for an abbreviated weekend away from the telephones, a weekend of fishing and visiting with the Speaker.

He sat there on the screened-in sun porch of the lodge dressed in his Sunday's best—dark blue suit and vest. The others of us just sat around and listened while Sam Rayburn talked. Occasionally someone would interject a question, but essentially it was a monolog, little vignettes and episodes called up out of the rich store of his memory.

Mr. Rayburn did not preach, but it was one of the finest sermons I have ever heard. It was almost a reverie, and throughout his reminiscences of the great and the near great there ran the threads of his own great kindliness, his great faith in America, and his great hope for the future. I think the rest of us knew, although we did not want to admit it, that this was probably the last such opportunity we might have. Maybe he knew it too.

Two years ago, on his birthday, he spoke to a small group of the things he held nearest his heart. Mainly, he spoke of Bonham and of Windom and of Flagsprings. He burned through to the very seat of man's folly, as he related how, when he was a boy, the people of Windom thought those of Flagsprings to be fundamentally different from themselves in nature, because Flagsprings was 8 miles away. With his sweeping view of history, he applied this to man's view of the world in 1959.

He spoke of Bonham, and it was easy to tell that this was where his heart truly lay. Sam Rayburn said he loved Bonham because it was a place where people know it when you are sick and where they care when you die.

To what may we attribute the unprecedented success as a lawmaker experienced by this plain-spoken and unpretentious man from Bonham? There might be as many answers as there are people who knew him. For my own part, I have tried to analyze the secret of the immense RAYBURN influence. Essentially, I think it boiled down to three or four things.

The first was an almost uncanny judgment of people. The Speaker could pretty well size up a person and the person's intentions. Maybe this came from experience and a great deal of it. But it was a tremendously important asset in the job he held. He was seldom deceived by glib talk, false exteriors, or specious reasoning.

Secondly, he had a marvelous facility for burning through the outer dross to the heart of a matter. Often have I heard Speaker RAYBURN utter a few sentences which summed up the matter at hand after others had spent many precious hours beating around the perimeter of the issue. He almost never wasted words, and so succinctly could he state the single overriding consideration involved in a question under discussion that the rest of us often found ourselves nodding in agreement and thinking, "That's just what I was trying to say."

But principally I believe the secret of SAM RAYBURN's greatness lay in his reputation for dealing in complete honesty and fairness and his devotion, amounting almost to consecration, to the United States. These were the qualities which so endeared him to his colleagues that, in a body of 435 self-styled leaders and not a few prima donnas, SAM RAYBURN was chosen unanimously time after time to be the spokesman and leader for his fellow Members.

You never had to guess where Mr. RAYBURN stood. His word, once given, was as good as gold. You could count on it and never look back. Members knew this, and it meant more than almost anything else. He never forgot the people, the plain average people who put their trust in him. Nor did he ever once lose faith in America and its future. Patriots have died for their country, and such devotion awes us. SAM RAYBURN did a less dramatic but perhaps even more difficult thing. For the better part of a century, he lived for his country.

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Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker, let me borrow from the late Speaker RAYBURN's own language used when presenting a head of state to the House—in his words, "It is my great privilege and I deem it a high honor" to be one of the more than 3,000 individuals who served with SAM RAYBURN in this House. He was a man whose deeply human quality of spirit was never blunted by the hard responsibilities of leadership. In this, I think, lay the secret of his genius—and SAM RAYBURN was, in simple truth, a genius in statesmanship.

Mr. RAYBURN said many times that he loved the House of Representatives. It was, characteristically, a statement of fact. He did not engage in exaggeration. His love for the House as an institution was reflected, every day, in his contacts with Members of the House. He knew us and understood our problems, and through this knowledge and this understanding he reached out with a sure grasp to wield a mightly influence in the affairs of the Nation.

We of Texas were proud, of course, that Mr. RAYBURN was a Texan. Although the weighty problems of the world came before him, he was—as he himself might have said—never far from his upbringing. That Fourth Congressional District of Texas, which he represented here for so many years, always was close to his mind and his heart. He remained close to the people he represented because he remained one of them, in spite of all the power and glory that in the case of a lesser man might have removed him from them.

Our pride as Texans that SAM RAYBURN was one of us is magnified by the knowledge that he belonged not just to Texas but to the United States. He left a mark that will endure so long as this remains a Nation of freemen.

There is no tribute I can pay that will increase his stature in the minds of men or on the pages of history. The story of this warmly human man—this farsighted legislator—this leader of other men—cannot be told adequately in words. But it is told, and lastingly told, in his own deeds. It is a story that will not be forgotten by those who knew him and worked with him and loved and respected him—the story of SAM RAYBURN, great American.

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Mr. RUTHERFORD. Mr. Speaker, I know no words to tell the depth of feeling I experience in knowing with awful finality that SAM RAYBURN is forever gone from these legislative halls. There is no way to describe the sense of loss we all feel, nor the heartache I knew at his passing. He was a great man and a good man. I am proud that for 7 years I could know him in the Congress, and I am proud that he was a Texan and that he was my friend.

This House was SAM RAYBURN's love and life. He would not want us to lose ourselves in idle mourning. He would want us to be up and doing, in the public service. He would want us to attend to the public business in this House as he attended it for almost half a century.

SAM RAYBURN extended a helping hand and a good heart to thousands of men and women in the Congress, and to free people everywhere. His legislative accomplishments, his wisdom, his fairness, his contributions to democracy and freedom of justice, will be remembered long and well. The good that Speaker RAYBURN did will live long after him and this House will always be the better for the touch of his hand.

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Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, I know the Members of the House must have shared the sadness in my heart as the 2d session of the 87th Congress convened.

Gone was a familiar face, a beloved friend. Death had claimed SAM RAYBURN, and this great American now belongs to the ages.

I know that nothing said here today can add to—or diminish—the luster that surrounds the memory of the greatest Speaker of the House of Representatives our country has ever known. His place in history is secure, for it is etched in the hearts of our people by the love and respect they had for "Mr. SAM." I know the people of our country will pardon the justifiable pride we Texans have for the memory of our great son, for they share our feeling. While he represented the State of Texas in Congress, he was a fiercely loyal American who served our whole country with equal fervor and dedication.

To me, it is fitting that consideration be given by this body to naming the new office building here after the late Speaker RAYBURN. It was in this House, which he served so well, that he knew greatness. His love and respect for the House of Representatives is well known. The House was to him, and is to us today, the greatest legislative body the world has ever known.

I like to think that through our close association, perhaps we members of the Texas delegation in Congress became imbued with some small portion of the character and integrity of Speaker RAYBURN. Here was a man on familiar terms with the great and near-great of our world for nearly half a century, and yet, his heart was with those he truly loved, the people. Few men will ever wear the mantle of greatness with such dignity, and such humility, as SAM RAYBURN.

Mr. Speaker, I mourned the death of SAM RAYBURN as a friend, as well as a lawmaker, and shall cherish forever the few warm moments of comradeship we had together. I shall always regret that death has stilled forever the gavel of the greatest Speaker in the history of our Nation. May God give us the strength and the courage to follow the example that he set as a Member of the House, as a leader, and as a man.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join my colleagues in paying tribute to a great American and a Christian gentleman, who was one of the greatest parliamentarians and lawmakers the world has ever seen. Others have spoken of this man's unique quality and ability in the field of legislation, and of the sterling qualities of character that made him an outstanding man among outstanding men. I will not try to add to those eloquent presentations. I simply want to say here, as simply and as succinctly as I am able, that the Honorable SAM RAYBURN was, I think, one of the most contented men it has ever been my pleasure to know.

In spite of the great weight of cares and responsibilities that rested upon his shoulders, he was a happy man and completely satisfied with life and his lot in it. His contentment was the deep contentment that can be experienced only by one who is completely honest—with himself and with all others. On many occasions we have heard Mr. RAYBURN proclaim publicly that he would be forever grateful to the people of his congressional district and the people of the Nation, for they had given him everything he had ever wanted out of life. This is indeed true for, as we all know, all he really wanted of life was the opportunity to devote his immense talents to the service of the country he loved so dearly; and this he did with a skill and devotion seldom witnessed in the annals of human history. Mr. Speaker, as one of Mr. RAYBURN's closest friends, I know that you agree when I say we will miss him sorely within the precincts of this body, but his loss to our country is incalculable.

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Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, echoes of the sound of the gavel in the hand of the late Honorable SAM RAYBURN will reverberate through these halls for so long as any one of us who served America with him still lives. In all of us, on both sides of the aisle, there will remain for all time, some mark of the man we eulogize here today. As a Texan, he was a source of pride to all his colleagues, for as proud as Texas is, and rightfully so, of accomplishments and contributions to the heritage of America, none exceeds the pride we enjoy that Texas gave Mr. SAM to America. As a representative of his people, he had no peer. In his own words on the subject of his long tenure as Congressman from the Fourth District of Texas, he said: "It takes a while for a man to learn, and get established, and gain his full influence. He don't reach his full usefulness his first term or two. And the worst thing a district can do for itself, if it's got someone here doing the job, is to keep changing its Congressmen. A man makes a record here about the way he does in business, or the law, or anything else; it's hard work that makes the difference." The people of his district heeded his words, and he remained to serve longer than any man in history. As the Speaker of this august body, he enjoyed the distinction of being the second most powerful influence on our Government for longer than any man in the past. His was a unique experience, not only in the 21 years he so ably occupied the highest chair in the Chamber, but, too, by his composure to accept difficult situations he could not change, his courage to change for the better in spite of opposition, and his wisdom in being able to discern between the two.

On his leadership of this bipartisan body, volumes might be written, but I believe the most apt description of his methods was his own appraisal: "You can't really say how you lead. You feel your way, receptive to those rolling waves of sentiment. And if a man can't see, and hear, and feel, why then, of course, he's lost. You cannot lead people by trying to drive them. Persuasion and reason are the only ways to lead them. In that way the Speaker has influence and power in the House. A Speaker has to be fair. Otherwise they'll tear him to pieces." In this characteristic, the gentleman from Bonham, Tex., was without equal. In his achievements as legislator, strategist, parliamentarian, and Speaker, his predecessors, Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson, could but greet him on their meeting, "Welcome, good and faithful servant. Yours was a job well done."

SAM RAYBURN

In his role as Mr. Democrat, SAM RAYBURN was an alltime all-American. In the years of Democrat majority he led his team in flawless unison and accord, and in the time of party minority he used his powerful influence to retrench, rebuild, and strengthen his forces for the day when the leadership might be regained. His tactics on the chessboard of politics did credit to his idol of the battlefield, Robert E. Lee. As a conciliator of divergent views he was respected and admired, emulated and unchallenged.

His exceptional insight into the future, analytical perception of the nature and style of factors, comprehension of detail, and understanding of human affairs were a constant source of amazement to his friends and associates. Few, if any, among us could challenge his masterful ability to see through the mass of detail in the business of government to define the cause and effect of legislation, appraise its weaknesses and prescribe remedial actions for the betterment of America and mankind.

Ours has been a privilege, to be a part of and participate in the shaping of the future of America under the guidance and genius of such a man. Through five decades of war and peace, his influence has been a cloak of assurance in repeated crises. Unquestionably, his achievements will go down in history as the outstanding major individual contribution to the events that have shaped the destiny of America.

SAM RAYBURN was born on the banks of the Clinch River in Roane County, Tenn., January 6, 1882. In 1887 his family settled on a farm near Windom, Tex. He attended the country school at Flagg Springs, Tex., received his degree from Mayo School at Commerce, now the East Texas State College, studied law at the University of Texas, and cut his teeth in politics in the Texas Legislature in 1907, where he served too, as speaker of the house from 1911 to 1913. He was elected to the 63d U.S. Congress from Bonham and the 4th Congressional District in 1912, and since taking his seat here on March 4, 1913, spent the remainder of his life in this Chamber. He became the first Texan to serve as Democratic majority leader of this body, and the second Texan to be honored as Speaker.

To the world, SAM RAYBURN was "Mr. America"; to his political body, he was "Mr. Democrat," to more than a thousand Members of this body, he was "Mr. Speaker"—but to Texans he was "Mr. SAM." By the dint of his endeavors and labor, the world is a better place for all mankind. By his dedication to the ideals of advancement and progress, America is a greater nation. By his leadership he made this body and assembly more effective to the cause of humanity. By his friendship and devotion to his fellow man he has made us better men. In our time there shall not be another like him.

On being honored in his home State of Texas many years ago, he said: "I dedicate my life now and in years to come to humanity in the hope that I may justify this honor which you have bestowed upon me." My friends, SAM RAYBURN fulfilled his promise.

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Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it is generally known among Members of this body that Speaker RAYBURN was a particularly close friend of mine. Just why this blessing came to me I do not know, but for it I shall always be thankful.

The many fine things which will be reflected in the Record of today's session tell the story for each one of us, and it is needless for me to repeat the expressions of Speaker RAYBURN's countless friends and admirers.

For myself, I merely want to say that ever since this session of Congress began, the first in many, many years to convene without the presence of SAM RAYBURN, I have felt his spiritual presence in a manner which I can only describe as vivid. It seemed, sometimes when I have been seeking for guidance, that he was beside me almost physically, and I could feel coming into my mind and heart the message which he surely was sending me from that spiritual place, that house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. As long as this

House endures and as long as our free Government prevails, the spirit of that great man will guide us. He has truly left footprints on the sands of time.

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Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, SAM RAYBURN, whether in life or in death, will live as a perpetual monument to the freedom and dignity of man as an individual. His own personal career is the clearest evidence of the greatness of the political philosophy upon which our country was founded. He rose from a boyhood in a family not possessed of great material wealth, but with an ample supply of the type of wealth man needs—love for one another, fear of almighty God, and basic, pure honesty. These traits, together with tireless industry, were the tools with which SAM RAYBURN moved from the cotton fields of northeast Texas to become the most powerful man in the Nation. But for some quirks of fate and the self-sacrificing attitude of SAM RAYBURN, he could and would have been the President of the United States. His lack of that title did not detract from the great power to which he aspired and which he attained. Under no other government or under no other political philosophy in the history of mankind could this same story have been written.

Hence, the history books that record the life of SAM RAYBURN can serve as a beacon light to those who come after.

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Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, in 1932 when I was a student at East Texas State Teachers College, I heard Hon. SAM RAYBURN speak. Incidentally, he attended this college. The district I have the honor to represent joins the RAYBURN district. I was born in his district shortly after he became a Member of the House of Representatives.

It has been a rich and rewarding experience in my life to have followed closely for nearly one-third of a century the illustrious and matchless career of one of the greatest men in the history of our country. I have known well what the people of his district, neighbors of mine, think of him. They held him in the very highest esteem.

Some 24 years ago I became a Member of this House—about the time Mr. SAM became a majority leader.

We all knew Mr. SAM to be friendly, considerate, sincere, humble, courteous, and helpful to us all.

As a Member, as majority leader, as Speaker, he was a most constructive legislator and outstanding leader of his party and truly a great statesman.

Many times I have heard Mr. SAM say, "If a man has commonsense, he has all the sense there is." Indeed, he, Mr. SAM, was richly endowed with commonsense. He was a true student and a very accurate observer. His judgment was the very best and this judgment has benefited and is today benefiting Americans and certainly will continue to benefit the people of our country. Moreover, the cause of liberty and freedom around the world has been strengthened because of his service.

It is my opinion that on the most vital issues that confronted America during the time Speaker RAYBURN served here he seldom if ever was mistaken.

To his wonderful family and to his many friends I once again express my profound sorrow in the passing of Mr. SAM.

Our great Chaplain of the House of Representatives, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, when Congress opened this year with his prayer used these words which I feel are most appropriate. I quote:

> We are calling to mind with deep and fond affection the life and character of the beloved Speaker. As Thou didst not lose him in giving him to us, so we have not lost him by his return to Thee.

I believe these words for I know our great Speaker RAYBURN loved God.

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Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, SAM RAYBURN now belongs to history. He no longer is a man of flesh and blood whose compelling personality and persuasive leadership manifested itself daily among us. We no longer have him to turn to for advice and encouragement. He has gone from us, but in spite of that fact his presence and influence are felt in some ways more than ever before. There can be no doubt that those who knew him and worked with him throughout the years now ask themselves the question, "What would SAM have done if he were here? How would he have acted? What would he have thought?" Indeed, many who never knew him at all are asking these questions. May it ever be thus.

There can be no doubt that history will treat Mr. SAM well and recognize his sound character, his love for mankind, and his devotion to our country. Historians will record his association with many Presidents, the calm and sound advice he gave them, the acute political talent he was endowed with; his sense of humor and his capacity for friendship.

Those of us who knew this great man will never forget him. Each one of his many friends can recall a variety of incidents where Mr. SAM made a lasting and loving impression. Such anecdotes depicting his greatness, his breadth of view, his knowledge of history, and his faith in simple justice are legion. History will be filled with them, and may the future generations grasp and hold onto these examples of this good American citizen and emulate his character and ideals. Many will do just that, and so SAM RAYBURN's influence will be felt down through the ages and our country will continue to promote truth, justice, peace, and the pursuit of happiness because of the work he did. What a fitting reward for such a man.

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Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, Tennessee joins with Texas and the other States of the Nation in paying tribute to one of the greatest men ever to serve in this House.

As we assemble for this session it has been generally recognized by all that something—someone—in this Chamber is missing and that it is not quite the same without Mr. SAM in our midst. Certainly this body has lost one of its greatest Members and the Democratic Party and the Nation have lost one of our great leaders. We must accept the fact that Speaker RAYBURN is gone but his memory will live forever.

Mr. Speaker, one of our finest endowments is that of treasured memories. Those of us who have been privileged to serve with Speaker RAYBURN will always carry with us treasured memories of his friendship and association.

Speaker RAYBURN served as Speaker of this House more than twice as long as any man in history. This alone attests to his greatness, his stability, steadfastness, and endurance. His place in history is assured.

But we who served with him respected him for more than his length of service. He was a great Speaker because of the bigness of his heart and his love of his fellow man.

Mr. SAM's bigness of heart and his sincere feeling for his fellow man is illustrated by a conference which I had with him just about this time last year. I was seeking the Speaker's support of a bill I had introduced to waive the tax liability and indebtedness of Sgt. Alvin C. York, the great World War I hero. After studying the matter, the Speaker said:

> To my mind just waiving the tax indebtedness of Sergeant York is insufficient—we should form a committee and raise a substantial sum of money, not only to pay off his tax liability but to present to Sergeant York and his family because our Nation owes so much to him.

The Speaker volunteered a $1,000 contribution and offered to serve as chairman of a fundraising committee. He was sure that the American people would willingly and generously respond.

Thus, from this meeting was born the method of relieving the great war hero of his tax burdens and Mr. SAM followed this drive to success with great interest.

This not only illustrates the bigness of Mr. SAM's heart but it was just one of the many favors that he has done for many friends throughout his life.

Mr. SAM was born in Roane County in Tennessee, adjacent to the district which I have the honor to represent in the

Congress, and although he rose to be one of the most powerful men in the Congress and Nation, he never turned his back on any good man. He was dedicated to wise legislation which favored no special group but looked always to the public interest.

In a personal way, Speaker RAYBURN befriended me many times. He appointed me repeatedly to special and select committees of the House and his interest and helpfulness will always be remembered.

Tennessee claims Speaker RAYBURN along with her most illustrious sons, Andrew Jackson, Andrew Johnson, and James K. Polk.

While we shall all miss his wise counsel, his steady patience, his guidance and leadership, we will still have the example of his service, the inspiration of his life and the benediction of his memory.

The legacy of Speaker RAYBURN left us is a precious one if we but remember the example of his long and useful career of dedicated public service. True to his ideals and friends and devoted to our country, his memory will live in the highest traditions of statesmanship of this Nation.

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Mr. BAKER. Mr. Speaker, SAM RAYBURN was born in Roane County, Tenn., in the district which I have the honor to represent in this body. He loved the hills and the hollows, the fields and the streams of east Tennessee. We all loved him.

This great man was an inspiration to me. He sometimes recognized me on the floor of this House as "the gentleman from east Tennessee." I am going to tell you a story that Mr. SAM RAYBURN told a group of us last summer when, as the gentleman from Louisiana said, he did us the great honor of accompanying a group of us to Tennessee to dedicate a bridge over the Fort Loudon Dam that was named the Sam Rayburn Bridge. The next morning we were fishing, fishing for bluegills, everyone talking. He said: "You know, when you are fishing, you think. I was out fishing one day with a lifelong friend in Texas who had made a great business success and had accumulated millions and millions of dollars, a man of great ability but of little education.

"I asked him, calling him by name on the riverbank, 'To what do you contribute your great success? You have made an outstanding success, we all know that.' "

He said, "SAM, you know I did not have much education, but I learned early in life that you do not learn nothing while you are talking."

That is a great lesson from this great man. It was typical of Speaker RAYBURN.

To the Members of this great body, Speaker SAM RAYBURN will always hover over this chair. But Speaker SAM RAYBURN now belongs to the ages.

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Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, nearly everything has been said, and said extremely well, about our departed great friend. It seems to me, however, that one should point out that from one single quality apart in this great man sprang all his other great qualities. I believe without any sentiment that the one word describing his greatness is the simple word "love."

Mr. Speaker RAYBURN loved his family. He loved the people who sent him to Congress for so long. He loved the people of the United States. And, more than that, he loved the people of the world. From this great strength there came a return, a return which I believe made it possible for him to render the tremendous service that he rendered to his people in Texas, to all of our people in the United States, and to all of the people of the world. We loved him too.

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Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the memory of our former beloved Speaker, SAM RAYBURN. I extend my sympathy to my colleagues from the State of Texas in the great loss they have sustained. Mr. RAYBURN's passing was not only a heavy loss to the State of Texas but an irreparable loss to the entire Nation.

I came to the Congress in January 1941, and saw Mr. RAYBURN take his oath as Speaker for the first time. It made a lasting impression upon me. I recall a part of the speech he made that day. He said his election as Speaker of this House was the realization of a dream of a lifetime. That is what he had worked and hoped for, in the many years of his devoted service in this body.

SAM RAYBURN will go down in history as one of our greatest statesmen. He guided this House on a steady course through some of the most perilous days in the history of our Nation.

I recall that during World War II the House was confronted with many difficult problems. It was the responsibility of SAM RAYBURN as Speaker to see that the necessary legislation was passed. Many of the bills were highly controversial and Members of his own party were sharply divided in their positions.

Mr. RAYBURN through his great ability, sound diplomacy and good judgment was able to get this legislation passed with a minimum of delay and friction.

I always enjoyed a visit with Speaker RAYBURN. I visited with him on many occasions. We would talk about politics and other matters. I thought that Mr. RAYBURN should go on to the White House, and talked to him about that possibility several times. He gave me the political picture in Texas and some of the developments which prevented him from being considered as an active candidate for President. I am not sure that he was too anxious to run for President, but I thought it would be a fitting culmination to his long and brilliant career in the House.

It was a great privilege to know SAM RAYBURN and to serve with him in the House. His influence will always remain in this body. No one who served with SAM RAYBURN will ever enter this Chamber without thinking of him.

Let us hope that we can maintain and preserve the high traditions of the House that SAM RAYBURN cherished and loved so deeply, and for which he fought without compromise for almost half a century.

I extend my deep personal sympathy to the members of his family in their great sorrow.

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Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, among the great privileges and blessings that I have enjoyed in life was the friendship of our beloved former Speaker of the House, SAM RAYBURN. To know him and observe him on the floor of this House was not only an honor but an opportunity so rare that only those who have served here can fully appreciate it. To know him and to have had the opportunity to be with him in privacy was a great privilege and a high honor that few men, other than those who have served here and have been connected with the Government, ever enjoyed.

He was wise in his counsel. He was demonstrative in his friendship and he demonstrated appreciation of friendship and loyalty greater than is generally seen between men. Visits with him late in the afternoon, hearing his wise counsel, when the formalities of the floor of this House were done away with and a group sat around and man spoke to man as men only do when they are closely associated together, remain with me, now and forever, as cherished memories of the high spots of my life.

To go fishing with him and to enjoy recreation with him was a privilege that I will remember as years go on. Annually he visited with me on the coast of North Carolina where we fished and enjoyed the refreshing ocean breezes.

He, as has been said here today, was the great Democrat. And, as he often said, he wished his time would permit him to accept more invitations, to go out and speak to the people not only for the principles of the Democratic Party and its precepts, but for the opportunity to get close to his fellow man. He visited my State quite often, and his addresses before the State gatherings of Democrats at our annual Democratic rallies have been remembered and will be remembered down through the years; appreciated and cherished by those who had the opportunity to hear him and those who had the honor to shake his hand.

Throughout the rest of my life, Mr. Speaker, I will cherish and remember this friendship that is dear to my heart and that has had a great influence on my life as a legislator in this body, a friendship that I know has molded character and developed understanding in me that I appreciate to the highest degree. All of us express our deep sympathy to his family and to the Nation in the loss of one of the greatest men I think this country ever produced.

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Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, when the magnificent role and accomplishments of Mr. RAYBURN are read in the history books that have been written and in biographies that should and will be written about him, they will reflect great credit and honor on this the greatest legislative and deliberative body in the world. Fortunate indeed are we and the other 3,000 American citizens who have had the opportunity to serve with him in the Halls of Congress. Our lives with and under his influence have been enriched and the legislative record in that time as we who served it during some critical times, was better because of it.

Millions of words will be spoken today and written in the future about him. It is fitting and proper that we set aside this time today to pay tribute to this great American whose mortal life has passed from the physical to the higher and sublime realms where with our encouragement and help, his record will shine brighter and be nobler as we reflect on it and as we think about it. All of us can and will testify to a personal loss, I am sure. And I want to add my word in this regard by saying that I will miss him almost beyond measure. He was such a help and encouragement to me in some of my special interests in history and it was with his help that it was possible for us to revive some interesting and dramatically worthwhile centennial moments in our history. In addition it was my great privilege to sit down with him on occasions to visit about the significance of American history, usually with relation to the work of the Congress of the United States and very often about the Capitol Building itself. His feeling for history will be missed and the future prospects of personal visits I have had will be a distinct loss to me.

Mr. Speaker, I now want to present a quote familiar to Mr. Sam and to his intimate friends:

> SAM RAYBURN
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> It is now my sole purpose here to help enact such wise and just laws that our common country will by virtue of these laws be a happier and more prosperous country. I have always dreamed of a country which I believe this should and will be, and that is one in which the citizenship is an educated and patriotic people, not swayed by passion and prejudice, and a country that knows no east, no west, no north, no south, but inhabited by a people liberty-loving, patriotic, happy, and prosperous with its lawmakers having no other purpose than to write such just laws as shall in the years to come be of service to humankind yet unborn.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is appropriate in a memorial to Sam Rayburn, to begin with the remarks I have just quoted. Sam Rayburn began with them; they are taken from his first address before this House of Representatives on May 1, 1913—almost 50 years ago. Not only did he begin with them, Mr. Speaker; he maintained these high goals and ideals therein noted until the last. And, consequently, a commentary on these things, so simply and so justly stated, will be a commentary on his life—so simply and so justly lived.

Mr. Sam dreamed of "a country that knows no East, no West, no North, no South," and he dreamed as one who was raised in the aftermath of the war which threatened to split this country forever. He dreamed as the son of a brave Confederate soldier. Knowing the horrors of disunity, he dreamed of union. A man who gives his life for a whole which his father had risked his life to divide is a man with the personal integrity to transcend the prejudices of environment and background, to work for his beliefs not as it is convenient, but as those beliefs demand. With a sense of history that told him what his ideals demanded, Mr. SAM gave his life to this Union.

As he had hoped to do, he served the people by the writing of just laws. His part in establishing the Rural Electrification Administration, for example, helped not only to modernize farming in the South and Midwest, but also to relieve the burden on such cities as our Federal Capital by making suburban living more practical. Typically, its chief benefit was to the common man, its chief demands upon those who could meet them, and who, by meeting them, contributed to the benefit of all. He matured during the Populist movement, and he retained its best aspects throughout his life. He was never inflexible or doctrinaire, but he maintained his ultimate goals and never lost sight of their value. He tailored the means of achieving these ends to fit a volatile and changing world; and the world has changed, Mr. Speaker, since SAM RAYBURN came to Washington.

His single career connects us with a world entirely foreign to our own. When he was born, Tennessee and Texas were far west, and what we call the West was wild. During his youth, our Nation pushed its way across the continent, and Mr. SAM was stretching, growing, and flexing his muscles along with the United States itself. As he reached his manhood, the pulsating energies of national expansion and consolidation were achieving all that had been expected or hoped for; the country had established itself, and no more new States were to be added until near the end of his career. We were tentatively probing the mysteries of international politics—even as now, at the hour of his death, we are probing the mysteries of outer space. Not during his life, Mr. Speaker, but during his service in this Congress, he saw us through two World Wars more horrible than anyone thought conceivable. He saw his country through boom and depression, while he himself never daunted, never overconfident, but always on the job, working to make our country the best place possible, according to those circumstances he could partly control or greatly influence.

Mr. Speaker, SAM RAYBURN saw a lot of history, and he learned from what he saw. He saw that only through the strength of unity could our country survive in this world of chaos and disunity. He saw that only by a government of laws could we achieve unity, and he strove, as he had promised to do, to assure stability by the passage of just laws—laws which controlled freedom without curtailing it; laws which would "come to be of service," to use his words, "to humankind yet unborn." I would be remiss, however, to imply that SAM RAYBURN was merely a legislator—that he put his faith in laws alone, or restricted his faith to any other single institution. Mr. SAM was also a teacher, with a teacher's love of youth and a teacher's knowledge of the importance of youth. For only by the young can justice and wisdom be transmitted to the "humankind yet unborn" which we, whatever our wisdom, shall never see and never know.

His favorite people were young people: students and interns, for example, here in Washington. I think he would have liked it to be said that in the minds of the young men and women whom he counseled he left his richest contributions. "If you are here in Washington," he would say to them, "if you are lucky enough to be working in your Government, do not just observe it. Study it. Learn about it. And as you come to know it you will come to love it. And with the love for your country which comes from knowledge, you will be better citizens." Mr. Speaker, can there be a truer and more moving patriotism than this? What could be less cynical or more forthright? As you know your country truly, so shall you love it; and as you love your country, so shall you serve it also. This is what SAM RAYBURN gave our children—what he gave the youth he loved to gather around himself—and it is the best he had to offer. I submit to you, Mr. Speaker, that this was the source of his legislative success: the conviction that by knowing the past we would see the value and the means for improving the present, that we might have a better future.

At 12 o'clock noon on every Saturday of the year there is an awful wailing in downtown Washington, on Capitol Hill, and indeed in cities throughout our land. The air-raid warning sirens are being tested. Any man, while that dismal sound is in his ears, who does not reflect upon our national peril—who is not compelled to think of our danger, and of his own responsibilities to his country in time of danger—is deaf to the whispering of the human conscience. And yet, while this mournful sound offends the ear, and while its meaning offends the spirit, there is in it also, as it sounds across the continent, a note of hope. We are testing our horns and we are making ready. In our understanding of impending danger—and in our willingness to face it, to stand and listen to the fearsome wail—there is an index of our tenacity. Our strength, Mr. Speaker, our perseverance, and our will to live enable us to pause, to hear the awful sound, and to continue on. SAM RAYBURN heard it, and he heard it often. He heard it, and he listened to it, and he knew the meaning of it; that we must strengthen ourselves by building force, but that we must strengthen our inner selves also, and our institutions.

His love of American institutions extended to the most important symbols of those institutions. It is in this light that his effort to improve and extend the east front of our Capitol Building must be seen. There are few structures in the world which symbolize as much as does this building. A way of life and the Government that makes it possible are the wonderful realities for which this building is a sign. How shocking, then, it was to watch our Capitol decline, to see this noble structure crumble. SAM RAYBURN was shocked, and, Mr. Speaker, he shocked the Congress into doing something about it—and into doing it right. The noble facade of the east front is an addition according to appropriate tradition. It is entirely just and a source of pride for all of us that our New House Office Building is to bear his name. Always with a sense of the historical and emotional importance of our monumental Government buildings, Mr. SAM worked actively to improve Capitol Hill. He helped to remove the slums, to make the congressional Chambers as adequate as possible for the conduct of our Nation's business. And his only reward was the satisfaction of participating in progress.

Mr. Speaker, I submit to you that in his work on the east front we can see the nature of SAM RAYBURN's greatness. Out of a knowledge of his country's history grew a love for the country which led him to smooth over any rough places, wherever they might be. He was a man with a faith in very great principles, and he had the ability to make us realize those principles, to help us put them into practice. In this way he led the Congress, Mr. Speaker, and he led the Congress well—as well as any other man. He is dead; but he has left us many things which will never die. Somewhere in literature there is this pertinent observation: what a man does for himself dies with him; what a man does for his community and country lives forever. SAM RAYBURN will live forever in the hearts of those who read about and study the history of this great Nation. He will never be divorced from the greatness of the United States. I should, because there are some significant similarities in their contributions, like to close with a passage from Seward's biography of another great Congressman, John Quincy Adams. "Old Man Eloquent" they called him, and he was eloquent in his way just as SAM was eloquent in his way:

> We are in the midst of extraordinary events. * * * The * * * Congress assembles in this conjuncture, and the debates are solemn, earnest, and bewildering. Interest, passion, conscience, freedom, and humanity all have their advocates. Suddenly the council is dissolved. Silence is in the Capitol, and sorrow has thrown its pall over the land. What means this abrupt and fearful silence? An old man * * * has fallen into the swoon of death.

The life of Sam Rayburn is one that leaves no gaps in philosophy and of truth. But it is a history that sheds marvelous confirmation on maxims which all mankind know, and yet are prone to undervalue and forget. The exalted character before us was formed by the combination of virtue, courage, assiduity, and modesty, under favorable conditions, with native talent and genius, and illustrates the truth, that in morals as in nature, simplicity is the chief element of the sublime.

Edwin Markham in his now famous poem, "Lincoln: The Man" used these lines to describe his greatness. They come to mind as I think about this great American who we honor today and they read: "Here was a man to hold against the world. The man to match the mountains and the sea."

No more significant or meaningful tribute can be given to any man than to say that he will be missed and this becomes more of a tribute to Mr. Sam because he will be missed by so many people, especially in the Halls of Congress.

With the three cardinal principles of true greatness which he possessed so well—courage, wisdom, and goodness—goodness to love the right, wisdom to know the right and courage to do the right.

He becomes a part of our cherished heritage which can and will be used as a seed for the present and future. Truly he belongs to the future.

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Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished dean of the Texas delegation for this opportunity to say a few words concerning our late Speaker. As a freshman Member of this body, I am, perhaps, the least qualified to speak of the man who was senior to all of us. I speak of the late Speaker not out of great knowledge or long friendship, but out of admiration and out of simple appreciation that I, too, was one of those privileged to have known him.

For almost half a century, he served in this House, a man loved for his towering prestige, his integrity, and for his tenderness. He served as few men are endowed or privileged to serve, and it was he—as much as any man—who led America from the last days of the winning of the West to the first days of the nuclear age. As much as any man, he molded America as it exists today for us and for our children and our grandchildren. I do not need to describe him to the Members of this body. I do not need to tell any Member of this House or any person in America about his abilities as a patriot, master parliamentarian, old-school statesman, Democrat, and skilled politician.

Installed as Speaker in 1940, he grasped the legislative reins and presided over this House with unmatched fairness. He was a great Speaker, but he also was great as a man, great in his compassion, in his warmth, and in an affection that seemed to include everyone, from a new Member of Congress to small children.

Last year on one of the first days of the session, I sat down, I remember, to have lunch with our colleague, Congressman BROOKS from Texas. Much to my surprise, I was soon surrounded by Texans, and then, even more to my surprise, Speaker SAM RAYBURN sat down beside me. Texans are often formidable, but to a new Congressman, Speaker RAYBURN was more than formidable. But, with that warmth and interest that was one of his great characteristics, he welcomed me to Congress—and in a sense, I believe, to Texas.

Some of you may have forgotten your long ago first sessions in this House. Because of SAM RAYBURN I shall never forget mine. I remember the last day when the Speaker was in the chair. On that day I happened to bring my little daughter into the House. She was 7 years old, and I took her up to meet the Speaker.

We know now that the Speaker was in great pain, but he smiled at Polly and he said to her: "Polly, you are such a pretty little girl. If I were not in this chair, I would kiss you."

SAM RAYBURN's generation will never forget him; we will never forget him. The next generation will not forget. His life and work are written in American history.

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Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, from my vantage point of being a new Member in the Congress I note the great pinnacle of achievement this beloved man, Mr. RAYBURN, attained. This is at once to a new Member an inspiration and a challenge. With all the words here spoken, the great thoughts expressed by the outstanding leadership of this body, the older Members of this body who testify to that great achievement, that great inspiration that we face as new Members, I wanted to add just a little mention of one of the experiences I had with the Speaker, for, indeed, he did not have a lot of time to visit with everybody, and so my visits were few in number. But one visit was an hour long. On that occasion my older brother Ralph—I call him my big brother—was down here visiting me in Washington. I asked if the Speaker could meet my brother. We were ushered into his office. He related some history to us for quite a little while of his experience in lawmaking. Then I spoke to him about a project that would be beneficial to western Montana, and his question was whether or not it was for the folks, and he expected me to describe in detail how useful it would be for the folks. Upon that explanation being made I had his assistance from that time on. I was impressed as was my brother for I did not expect to have that much time with him. When we left and as we went into the corridor my brother turned to me and said: "Arnold, that man truly loves his fellow men." And so it is with the greatest in this body, or the visitor, my brother, who had only an hour with Mr. SAM, to know him was to know that he truly loved his fellow man.

Mr. PETERSON. Mr. Speaker, it is with a sense of profound humility and inadequacy that I add my voice and deeply felt sentiments to the many eloquently moving tributes already paid to our late beloved Speaker whom God in His inscrutable wisdom has taken from us.

As one but newly come to this august body, I am all too mindful that it was not given to me to have enjoyed the long, cordial, and helpful association with Speaker RAYBURN, so treasured now by my numerous bereaved senior colleagues who were privileged to spend years with him here, preoccupied with the concerns of the Nation.

If my association with Mr. RAYBURN was relatively fleeting, as worldly time is measured, it was, nonetheless, memorable. I found him benevolent, understanding, a patient source of assistance, tolerant of those uncertainties which seem the peculiar lot of a neophyte in these halls, and, of course, many more things—a great and gifted human being.

It will take some future genius to do the whole man full justice. It will be the historians of the future, working with the advantage of perspectives denied to us, who will arrive painstakingly at the whole, true measure, of Mr. SAM's stature as a remarkable national figure, and one who merits so much from the country he so loved.

I have mentioned that my associations with the late Speaker were, unfortunately, relatively short. Before they had spun along for not too many months, there appeared indications that all might not be going too well with him. At first, optimism prevailed, although some amongst us had misgivings. As apprehensions grew, the business and the routine of this House proceeded according to the requirements of developments, in a sense not unlike a quiet drama with its appointed lines, its acts and scenes, its entrances and exists.

But there was something different now, and in melancholy course we came to suspect its implications. A very gallant gentleman confronted what could be a most formidable fight. In a lifetime of political battles he was not one to quail at the face of adverse odds, or be intimidated, so there would be no stepping out of character at this grim pass. Characteristically, he stood his ground as long as ebbing physical stamina would sustain him.

The times I saw him during his last weeks with us here, I could not but marvel at his incredible fortitude and spirit. I do not doubt that he recognized his antagonist, did not underestimate his own desperate position, but meant to fight on defiantly. I was reminded of the lines from one of John Donne's poems in which that same antagonist is addressed in language, perhaps a bit too poetic for Mr. Sam, but in sense most fitting for his valedictory—

> Death—be not proud, though some have called thee
> Mighty and dreadful, for thou art not so.
> For those whom thou think'st thou dost overthrow,
> Die not, poor death, nor yet canst thou kill me.

Of all the memories the late Speaker bequeathed me, by far the most memorable will always be the magnificent valor with which he met his ultimate antagonist and set us an example of how a stout heart behaves.

Mr. Speaker, I would respectfully suggest, that in the case of Mr. Sam, "Death be not proud."

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Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, I could not let this occasion pass without adding very humbly my grateful appreciation for the life of Speaker Rayburn and my profound sorrow because of his passing. It would be in poor taste to attempt a lengthy statement on an occasion like this, but I would, as I reflect upon the life of our late Speaker, observe that he was a superior man from the standpoint of his knowledge and his administrative ability.

He was a superior man because of his integrity. I think so often what we need in America is not more knowledge but better men to provide us with the course of action that we ought to take, based upon that knowledge.

Speaker RAYBURN was a good man. America will never cease to be a great Nation so long as we have enough good men and women. America will always be the great Republic that she is so long as we have people who not only know what is right but, like Speaker RAYBURN, do that which is right.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, our beloved friend was a man of faith. He often expressed the desire that he might pass, as he used to say, wielding the gavel. No one except a man of faith could have carried on as he did in face of the grievous and devastating illness which was his.

Truly this good man, this man of faith, did that which the poet admonished when he said:

> So live, that when thy summons comes to join
> The innumerable caravan which moves
> To that mysterious realm, where each shall take
> His chamber in the silent halls of death,
> Thou go not, like the quarry slave at night,
> Scourged to his dungeon, but, sustained and soothed
> By an unfaltering trust, approach thy grave,
> Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
> About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams.

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Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, on returning to the House for the opening of the 2d session of the 87th Congress, I was cognizant that the scene would be different in the Chamber. There is a face missing which was so familiar during the time, the years, I had served in this body. A personality to be remembered—Speaker SAM RAYBURN had crossed over the river. His death was a distinct and tragic loss to America. He left a record of accomplishments unparalleled in the history of the Republic. The Fourth District of Texas had sent him to the House as its Representative for 25 consecutive terms. During many of those years he occupied a position as Presiding Officer, the Speaker, for more than double the service in that office than any other of his predecessors. Few men have attained the position or stature of Speaker RAYBURN, none could wear that toga with the humility which he possessed. He could, as Kipling expressed it, "Walk with Kings, nor lose the common touch."

His virtues of patriotism, great wisdom, and integrity was, and is, an inspiration to all of us. He knew that the greatness of a nation was accomplished by the quality and moral fiber of the people. He was genial in manner and spirit and considerate at all times of the views of others.

It was my privilege to attend two mammoth meetings in Little Rock and one in Kennett, Mo., in the last year and a half. Speaker RAYBURN was the featured speaker on each of those occasions. He spoke for 45 to 50 minutes at each appearance and did not refer to a manuscript or a note. He knew his subject full well when he spoke. I do not recall that he ever referred to an outline or memorandum in any of the many floor speeches I have heard him make. He was equipped and ready on any subject that arose in the House to offer his observations and views. When he did so they were concise, forceful, and convincing. These are the attributes of leadership and greatness.

At the funeral for Speaker RAYBURN which was conducted in his home city at Bonham, Tex., great throngs of Texans tried desperately to enter the First Baptist Church sanctuary. On arrival there well in advance of the stated time for the service it was a trying and difficult effort for me to enter the church even with an accompanying police escort. These were grief-stricken townspeople and constituents who had come to say farewell to a friend, neighbor, and outstanding national leader.

The loss of Mr. SAM is well expressed by Walt Whitman in these words:

O captain, my captain, rise up and hear the bells;
Rise up—for you the flag is hung—for you the bugle trills;
For you bouquets and ribbon'd wreaths—for you the shores a-crowding;
For you they call, the swaying mass, their eager faces turning;
My captain does not answer, his lips are pale and still, he has no pulse nor will;
The ship is anchor'd safe and sound, its voyage closed and done;
From fearful trip the victor ship comes in with object won;
Exult, O shores, and ring, O bells; but I with mournful tread,
Walk the deck my captain lies, fallen cold and dead.

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Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, when news came of the passing of SAM RAYBURN, I was in Paris at a meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Parliamentarians' Conference. Speaker RAYBURN honored me by appointment to this committee for a number of years and I am very proud of the fact that one of his last official acts on the day he left Washington was to submit my appointment to the House.

Our Nation has sustained a great and irreplaceable loss in the death of SAM RAYBURN. He was one of the giants of our age. No man in the past century has left a larger imprint upon the legislative history of the country.

Despite his age and long service, he retained youthful imagination and dedication throughout his life. He was proud to be called Mr. Democrat, and to recall his sponsorship of many of the great economic reform measures of the 1930's, but I think he took the greatest pride in recalling those occasions when he successfully led the fights to uphold the foreign policy and military security decisions of the Presidents of the United States, both Democratic and Republican.

All of us who have served in the House of Representatives under SAM RAYBURN can be proud of that privilege. His record and his service will be forever distinctive in the history of our country, and our association with him will be one of the hallmarks of our public service.

The privilege of sharing his personal friendship and confidence in the House of Representatives is a memory that I will always cherish.

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Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, SAM RAYBURN, dean of the 44 Speakers who have presided over this House since 1789, has gone to his eternal reward. He passed away back home in Bonham, Tex., on November 16, 1961.

During his long and constructive tenure as Speaker, he raised the prestige and effectiveness of that office to a peak that had never been reached before.

This House was his life. His faith in representative government, and its ability to fulfill its responsibilities, brought order, reason, and dignity to the work and the accomplishments of this Chamber.

The standards he set as presiding officer, have strengthened the traditions of the U.S. House of Representatives. The human understanding and the decisive leadership that characterized his management of the House will be a valuable example for Speakers of the future.

From 1913 through 1961, his uninterrupted service in Congress spanned the administrations of Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy. He became the second most powerful man in the Government of the United States. No other Member of this century has served with such fidelity and such distinction.

By choice, he passed up the opportunity to become President. At the Democratic National Convention of 1944, his many friends made him the leading candidate for Vice President but he graciously declined in favor of Harry Truman, who was nominated, elected, and succeeded to the Presidency upon the death of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

To SAM RAYBURN, the position of Speaker was the greatest opportunity that a man could have to express his devotion to freedom, and to fulfill his responsibilities to his fellowmen.

After a long and honorable career, his last days were blessed with the prayers of a grateful Nation.

The pioneering courage and commonsense of the man from Texas guided the legislation that developed the United States into the strongest power on earth, using that power to protect freedom, and to advance the future of mankind.

Sam Rayburn gave the riches of his mind and heart and conscience to that cause.

The memory of his faith in us is a priceless heritage that will inspire us to go forward.

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Mr. KILBURN. Mr. Speaker, when I first came to Congress in February 1940, Speaker Bankhead swore me in. Soon after that Sam Rayburn was elected Speaker. Ever since then, he was always kind and considerate to me. I was an obscure new Republican from upstate New York but it made no difference with him. He helped me a lot. He was a great American and I cherish his memory.

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Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, with the passing of each day we who held our late beloved leader—Speaker Sam Rayburn—in such high esteem, seem to sense a deeper and fuller realization of the great and manifold contributions he made not only to the House of Representatives but to our Nation as a whole.

From the day I was accorded the honor and privilege to serve with Mr. Sam in 1947, I have always known and found him to be an American first, friend and counselor always, and constant exponent of justice and fairness in everything he undertook or associated himself with; and, whenever the occasion warranted his advice, he was not only available but graciously willing to give of himself and his years of experienced wisdom to those who sought it, particularly in legislative matters. Truly, therefore, in his death, we have lost a trusted friend, adviser, leader and devoted colleague.

Very rightfully, others have eulogized Mr. Sam with eloquent tributes. To theirs, I would humbly add my thought that Mr. Sam would perhaps like to be remembered for, and would choose as his legacy if the opportunity were his, the hope that the boys and girls—the young people of this Nation—would discover in his decades of distinguished and dedicated service to our country, a goal to achieve—an example to follow—a career to emulate—in preserving our way of life as he did. Yes, by his devotion to duty and conscientious labor, Mr. Sam gave not only to our youth but to all Americans, the greatest heritage any citizen would hope to imprint on the pages of our country's history.

May the spirit of Speaker Sam Rayburn overshadow these hallowed Halls of the Congress of the United States, rising as a tower of reassurance to those who legislate therein, making them secure in the knowledge that the greatness he achieved will live on and be reflected in their service to the United States of America.

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Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, the loss of Sam Rayburn is a blow from which the House will not soon recover. It is a dual loss—that of both a master statesman and a splendid human being. Time may dull the pain of his departure, but until that occurs his absence shall rankle in the hearts of all who knew and loved and respected this remarkable man.

To few persons is given the privilege of favorably affecting the lives of millions of others. With the powers of the speakership at his command, Sam Rayburn had such a privilege. Because he used and discharged it wisely, faithfully and humbly, the world is better off today.

Sam Rayburn served the country longer than any other Speaker in our history, and in so doing became part and parcel of the useful legislation that passed the Congress during his tenure as Speaker of the House of Representatives. In this way millions of people throughout the world felt the impress of Mr. RAYBURN's career. The hearts of each and every one of them is with him today.

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Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, SAM RAYBURN was my friend. I could speak a million words and still not say enough in praise of his greatness, of his devotion to his duties, of his loyalty to his party and his friends, and of his love of this country and its citizens.

SAM RAYBURN believed in and appreciated brevity. He was a great man. This world is a different place now that he is gone.

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Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, we deduce the greatness of our Nation when we review our capacity to produce heroic leadership in every generation. We are preeminent, the greatest of all nations when we can cite those leaders whose qualities immortal span all generations and are etched in the stone of history. Mr. SAM RAYBURN, of Texas, the late and greatest Speaker in the House of Representatives, is now among those who have given us this distinction.

He endowed those of us who survive and follow with a new stature to meet and measure. As we emulate and approach his attributes of integrity, independence, fairness, love of nation, and love for people, we move in his footsteps. We know his guidance when we show faith in God and adherence to principle and dedication to the service of the governed. It has been my privilege to serve with him for just 1 year in the 87th Congress. He talked with me and taught me as he taught all of us who knew him. He once said that he, as one of a family of 11 children, well remembered the happiness of a large family in an American home. In a sense he made us his family as well as his colleagues and we can, therefore, sense the grief that burdens his kinfolk, his neighbors and his State. That grief must be tempered when we assess not the loss we suffer but the gain in greatness we sustain as a nation and a free people because he lived with us so long, he led us so well, and left us so much.

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Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, every man treasures the memory of even a passing acquaintance with a truly great individual. When life gives to anyone the opportunity to become a friend and colleague of a great man, it bestows a treasure beyond price.

No man in this House, whatever may be his party affiliation, will question the greatness of SAM RAYBURN. His distinguished record as a Member of the House and as its presiding officer has never been equaled in the life of this Republic.

The measures which SAM RAYBURN authorized in the Congress are great monuments to his memory today, and the life of every farmer, every working man and almost every American is richer because there was a SAM RAYBURN, of Texas.

As a law student in Washington, more than 20 years ago, I came to admire this masterful but gentle Texan.

As a candidate for Congress for the first time, 10 years ago, I had the great privilege of welcoming him to the Second District of Oklahoma, and I will never forget the powerful speech which he delivered in Muskogee's Spaulding Park on that occasion.

As a freshman Member of the Congress, in 1953, I heard his words of wisdom, commonsense, and friendly counsel as he addressed our freshman organization.

He was one of the few men I have known who continued to grow in vision, in warmth of heart, and in love for humanity with every passing year.

America has lost its greatest legislator.

The House has lost its strongest pillar.

Oklahoma has lost its finest neighbor.

I have lost a dear friend.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, a statesman, leader, and patriot has departed and with his passing an era has ended. Mr. RAYBURN, who served longer as Speaker than any man in the history of our country, had the natural quality of leadership as a speaker and parliamentarian and he was the peer of any man in the U.S. Congress. He had amassed a wealth of affection and esteem in this body as all of us acknowledge the qualities of the true greatness of the man. One thing that contributed to his greatness were his strong convictions and he adhered to the truth of his convictions at all times. As a leading spirit in the Nation's councils for 48 years, Mr. SAM was known personally or by reputation by practically every American interested in public affairs. I am sure that the citizens of our Nation unite in spirit with Members of this House today in paying tribute to his memory as the outstanding figure of our generation. As leader and later Speaker, Mr. SAM expended superb courage and indomitable energy throughout many years and late last summer when the boundary line of human limitations was reached, he went home to Bonham and finally his physical endurance came to an end.

He was actually the victim of his intense devotion to duty and he died in triumph, leaving behind him a rich heritage of honor for future generations.

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Mr. WALLHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay solemn tribute to the memory of the Honorable SAM RAYBURN.

Mr. RAYBURN was respected by all; a man who was a great legislator and Speaker of this body; a dedicated Texan and above all a great and dedicated American.

I considered it an honored privilege to have known Mr. RAYBURN, to have worked with him and to have served under him in the House of Representatives. At all times, I found him most kindly, considerate, generous, and fair.

As we look back over his legislative record, we find many of his accomplishments that will be written indelibly into the history of the United States of America.

His was a record achieved in 48 years as a Member of Congress, more than 16 of which he served as Speaker of the House. It was a span of service that covered more than one-quarter of the entire constitutional history of our Nation. It was a span of years that saw our Nation and its people move through eras of prosperity and depression and periods of disastrous wars and cherished peace.

May the soul of this great man forever rest in peace.

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Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, the convening of the 2d session of the 87th Congress has been marked with great sadness. Today, as Members of the House pay tribute to the revered memory of our late beloved Speaker, SAM RAYBURN, there will be no one here who does not realize that he or she has sustained a profound loss with the passing of Mr. SAM. His spirit will always be with us and his great influence will continue to be felt here in the House and elsewhere. Never has the death of one man in public life so personally affected so many people.

Speaker RAYBURN was truly an amazing man. He was constantly under great pressure. He carried an awesome responsibility, yet he always had time to listen patiently to the problems of others and he always found time to help out if he possibly could.

He was a strong man of indomitable will. Yet, he was kind and gentle and he was understanding.

SAM RAYBURN was a man of intense loyalty. He was a fierce fighter for the Democratic Party and for those things in which he believed. He neither asked for nor gave any quarter when engaged in a political struggle. But, he was never unkind or unfair and when the fight was over he could resume a strong, personal relationship with the men he had fought. His long friendship with Joe Martin, for so many years the leader of the Republicans in the House, is an example of how his friendships crossed party lines.

There are no indispensable men, but Sam Rayburn came as close to being indispensable as anyone who has ever served this Nation in its long history.

Mr. Speaker, I shall always cherish my friendship with and memory of Sam Rayburn, and I shall always be grateful for the opportunity to serve as a Member of the House during the time he was Speaker.

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Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, there is little that one can add to the many magnificent tributes which have already been paid to our late, great and distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives, Sam Rayburn. It has been perhaps truly said that no generation can accurately evaluate the sweep of history which it experiences, but that a number of years must pass for a perspective to be gained for such evaluation. There are exceptions to this rule, as there are exceptions to other rules. Each of us who has had the privilege and high honor of having served under Sam Rayburn in the House of Representatives through his unequaled tenure as Speaker, knows in his heart that Sam Rayburn will take his place among the great statesmen of this century, regardless of from which vantage point in time of history he may be viewed.

As has been truly observed, Sam Rayburn was actually an "institution." He was an institution which personified integrity, honor, and leadership of the highest order. He guided this House and participated in the guidance of this Nation through some of our most crucial years in history. He sat at the helm of this House through the perilous course of World War II. He continued to wear the mantle of responsible leadership through the years after World War II, through the cold war, and through the pressures of our nuclear age. His length of service as Speaker of the House of Representatives is unequaled and I daresay may not be equaled in this century.

Those who have preceded me have described in detail his lengthy service as a Member of this body and as our leader. There are none who are now Members, or who have been Members, who displayed more faithful devotion to duty than Speaker Rayburn. His rugged patriotism and loyalty are matters of record, and we all knew him to be a fierce protector of the powers and integrity of the House of Representatives. But as has been truly said before, the deeper qualities of mind and heart, in the long run, stand out as most significant to those of us who had the high privilege of serving under him, and I know that I speak the sentiments of all the Members when I say that the friendship of Speaker Rayburn has enriched the life of every man who has served with him.

As we today sorrowfully and with heavy hearts observe the passing from the scene of this great and honorable man we can take solace in the fact that we have had the high distinction of knowing him as a friend, benefiting from his wise counsel, and serving under his leadership. This should be an inspiration to all of us here and indeed to all Americans who follow in his footsteps.

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Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, when I came to Washington last January as a freshman Congressman, I naturally was interested in getting acquainted with the leadership of the House of Representatives and particularly the leadership of my own party. I consequently took advantage of my first opportunity to stop by the Speaker's office to pay a courtesy call.

Frankly, I was somewhat doubtful that the Speaker would be in at the time, and more doubtful that he would have time to do more than extend a formal greeting even if he were, but luck was with me and Mr. Sam was in his office.

It is still surprising to me to think back and realize that a man as busy as Mr. SAM was then would insist that I come into his private office for an extended chat. Thirty minutes had passed before I realized it, and when I did insist on leaving for fear of imposing unduly on his time, I got a cordial invitation to stop in for a chat anytime.

Such a man was SAM RAYBURN. He was truly the type of man Kipling described as able "to walk with kings nor lose the common touch." Despite the staggering burden he carried as Speaker of the House of Representatives during one of the most critical periods of our history, he never lost interest in the everyday problems of young Congressmen; he never missed an opportunity to extend to them a helping hand nor placed them in an embarrassing position.

I believe one of the things that brought me to a realization of the seriousness of my responsibility as a Member of the House of Representatives was the fact that I was serving with a man who had been Speaker of the House almost as long as I have been old enough to vote, and who became a Member of the House long before I was born. At 79, he had more vigor, more enthusiasm, more intellect, more perception, and more ability to get the job done than most men half his age.

His long years of service to his congressional district, to the House of Representatives, and to the Nation had given him a feeling for Congress and its work that is hard to describe. Suffice to say that SAM RAYBURN loved the House of Representatives as some men love their wives and families. He loved the House as some men love wealth. He loved the House as some men love hobbies, athletics, or other avocations. For him the House was more than a job, more than a profession, more than a hobby. It was a career which spanned nearly half a century. In a real sense, the House was the very life of SAM RAYBURN, for he spent well over half his life as a Member of it and what many men consider their retirement years as its Speaker.

The loss of Sam Rayburn is a loss to his congressional district, a loss to his State, and a loss to the Nation, but it is not a complete loss to the House, for Mr. Speaker left upon all of us who remain as Members an indelible stamp which will endure for many years to come. We pay tribute today not to one who is forever gone, but to one whose spirit will continue to live and dwell among us.

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Mr. BATTIN. Mr. Speaker, an era in American history passed with the passing of Speaker Sam Rayburn.

As a new Member of Congress I will always feel that I was privileged to know Mr. Sam and to have served the first session of the 87th Congress while he presided over the House.

There have been great men in the past who were honored by their party and elected to this high post, and the pages of history reveal many great acts and deeds. Perhaps the highest compliment a man can pay another is to say that he was fair. Fair in his dealings, honest in his word, dedicated in belief and loyal to his principles. This, I believe, is my summation of Speaker Sam Rayburn.

The Supreme Being was good to Mr. Rayburn, for to the end he was able to accomplish his goals and ambitions. Mr. Sam had many rewards during his life and I feel sure that should the gavel fall in the hereafter calling to order a body of good people, our former Speaker will respond to the call.

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Mr. INOUYE. Mr. Speaker, the people of Hawaii were extremely saddened over the death of our late and beloved Speaker, the Honorable Sam Rayburn.

Speaker Rayburn was truly one of God's great noblemen. He was a friend of all, especially to the incoming freshmen Members. He was never too busy to give a helping hand to us as we groped through the legislative maze.

Hawaii will miss him. I will miss him. I feel that today I am a better man for having known Speaker SAM RAYBURN.

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Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, there is a new star in the heavens. All of us in Congress and in the Nation feel the earthly loss of our late Speaker, SAM RAYBURN, and I cannot perhaps express myself as well as you did, Mr. Speaker, who was so intimately connected with him over the past 22 years both in the organization of the House of Representatives and as a personal friend. I have been here 10 years and I do say he was my personal friend and I loved him.

Mr. SAM earned the respect and devotion of both sides of the aisle and also the people of America. He earned this because he devoted his entire life to public service, one of the greatest vocations that a man can offer to his country. To be trite, I suppose I could use the words, honest, wise, and fair, but if I study the dictionary for appropriate words, I could not evaluate the feeling that I have in my heart, for Mr. SAM had an additional quality, hard to express and yet be understood, one which followed the new commandment given to us by our Saviour—love. Love for his fellow man.

Naturally his wisdom and his tenacity throughout his entire career was shown to us daily and like our heroes who have fallen on the battlefield he gave his life to his country.

I telegraphed Mr. SAM late in August in which I expressed the hope that he could be well enough to join us before the session ended in September. He made the reply, probably one of the last letters he wrote, in which he stated that his lumbago had been bothering him, and that he thought he could rest and get the care from his own doctor. This, in my mind, was an extremely courageous statement, but also displayed the great faith he at all times personified.

If I were standing in the Halls of Congress, and I failed to see him I soon felt a little nudge in my ribs as he passed by indicating to me that even though I had failed to see him he had seen me. I shall miss him tremendously. I can remember when I returned to Congress in 1957, the senior Members of the State delegations were introducing the new Members. As you know, Mr. Speaker, I served in the 81st and 82d Congresses and was then out for 4 years. When the rollcall came to the State of Nevada and I being the only Congressman from the State, therefore, not having any senior Members to introduce me, Mr. SAM jumped to his feet instantly and said, "This one I want to introduce. He is not a new Member, he is an old friend from the 81st and 82d Congresses and he is back for the 85th, and I hope the 86th, 87th, and thereafter."

In one of his marvelous speeches I recall that he said, "I love people and why shouldn't I?" If only this doctrine of love for our fellow man as preached by our Saviour 2,000 years ago could be understood all over the world today, what a strength it would give the forces of good. If only the forces of self-expressed godlessness could recognize the Golden Rule in action the world would have the peace on earth for which God gave His only begotten Son.

SAM RAYBURN was a godfearing man, he not only was courageous, but he was a man, with all the strength and courage of a disciple of goodness. His final hours of suffering are now ended, but the good that he exemplified to his Nation over so many years will live on, and I join the others today in the sad eulogy for my friend, the late Speaker SAM RAYBURN.

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Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, SAM RAYBURN was one of our greatest Americans. Born in frontier circumstances, he rose through his own efforts, character, and ability to the third highest position in the Government of the United States and the leadership of the greatest legislative body in the world.

I shall always treasure my friendship with SAM RAYBURN and I shall always consider my relations with him to have been one of the most rewarding experience in my life.

While I am not unaware of the great and formal achievements of SAM RAYBURN's life, such as the accomplishments of the committee which he headed, or the legal monuments constructed through his leadership of the House, it is the memory of his personality which remains most strongly in my mind and which I should like to mention today.

Although he affected a gruff exterior, SAM RAYBURN was a kind man. His kindness was most in evidence in his relations with new Members to whom he was always available and to whom he was prodigal with advice.

His sympathy with children was a rather surprising characteristic and was unexpectedly warm for a man who had no family of his own. I shall never forget the memorable way in which he greeted my son Charles one day when I availed myself of a Member's privilege of bringing a child to the floor of the House. Sitting in the Speaker's chair, he greeted my son cordially and then presented him with the gavel which he was then using, emphasizing at the same time its historical importance in its use by the officer "presiding over the greatest legislative body in the world."

Another evidence of his love of children and of life itself was embodied in a letter he directed to our new daughter Susan on September 27, 1961, only 50 days before his own death. He wrote:

> DEAR SUSAN: I want to welcome you into this big, wide, wonderful world, and I know you will make your fine parents very happy and very proud of you in the years to come.
>
> This world in which you are a newcomer has plenty of worries and trouble, but no generation has ever had such wonderful opportunities as yours will have, and it is hard to imagine what strides the human race may take during your lifetime.
>
> I trust your life will be one of service and great happiness, and I wish for you all the good things of life.
>
> Sincerely yours,
>
> SAM RAYBURN.

In view of his own condition, this letter which was probably one of the last that he wrote was a poignant and touching testimony of SAM RAYBURN's great spirit and it is a document which I shall always treasure.

Sam Rayburn was simple and direct. He was fair and he was intensively devoted to the welfare of the United States of America. It is perhaps in his restraint and lack of partisanship in joining with an administration of the opposite party in fostering measures dedicated to protecting the security, defense, and foreign policy of our Nation that he demonstrated democratic statesmanship at its finest and reached his highest peak of achievement.

I am privileged to have known Sam Rayburn and to have worked with him. I am grateful for this opportunity to touch the stream of American history through this acquaintance with one of our great national figures. I am happy to acknowledge his secure spot in the legislative story of our country and to share with my colleagues in expressing our affection for Mr. Sam and our irreparable loss in his death.

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Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the Nation is poorer indeed with the death of the able and beloved Sam Rayburn, who had served as Speaker of the House for more than twice as long as any other man in the history of our country. On June 12 of last year, he doubled the length of service record as Speaker which had been set by Henry Clay before 1850. Altogether, Mr. Rayburn served for 17 years as Speaker of the House.

He also set new records for tenure in the House. In 1958, he broke the previous record of 45 years of continuous membership in the House. The following year, he broke the record of 46 years of noncontinuous membership.

Mr. Rayburn's distinguished career of public service spanned nearly five decades which saw more changes than any similar period. Throughout those years, he amply demonstrated that he could meet the challenges of these rapidly changing times. In Wisconsin's Ninth District, as in the other predominantly rural congressional districts of the Nation, he will be long remembered as coauthor of the Rural Electrification Act, which brought central station electricity to rural America. He had made it clear on numerous occasions that he considered rural electrification as his greatest legislative achievement.

In his 48 years in the House, Mr. RAYBURN had been friend, patron, and advocate of many other worthwhile causes. And in addition to this, he had been for most people a living symbol of representative government and the continuity of policy in the American democracy.

The Speaker of the House carries on his shoulders a heavy load of duties and responsibilities which go with this high and responsible post. Despite this fact, Mr. RAYBURN always found time to help individual Congressmen with their problems, giving freely of his time, his wisdom, and his long experience in the field of government.

Mr. RAYBURN's record in Congress, as Speaker of the House, and in everyday encounters with his fellow men, will stand as a lasting monument to the greatness of the man.

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Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, the interval between the passing of our respected and distinguished former Speaker and the convening of the Congress has been one of contemplation and impatience—contemplation of the life and service of this great American and impatience over the necessary delay in putting this testimonial to our loss in the Record.

There are many things to which the average citizen looks as symbols of the greatness of this Republic: our flag, the Capitol, the White House, the monuments to Washington and Lincoln, and all those things that attest to our historic past as well as to our acceptance of the responsibilities of this turbulent present. And in the forefront of these symbols of the Nation's dedication to liberty and justice, under the law, stands the speakership of this House, to the enhancement of the dignity of which no man in history has contributed so much as our late lamented leader.

Coming to the House in a Congress in which Speaker RAYBURN had temporarily surrendered the reins of office to his opposite political number I was nevertheless aware of the character and influence of this great American and I stood in his presence with the same respect and deference I have always assumed in the presence of the President of the United States. And when in the succeeding Congress he was returned to office the fact that the candidate I supported was defeated was softened by the realization that the House was continuing in strong hands and that our democratic processes were under the guidance of a stalwart protector.

The record will show that I separated from Speaker RAYBURN on most of the important political issues that came before this House in the years that he graced the speakership. In each such instance I took my position with strong convictions but I was always aware that the opposition was undergirded by a wealth of legislative and political tradition and that our Speaker would see that the rights of the minority would be scrupulously protected.

A few days after Mr. SAM took his last weary way back to his beloved Texas I wrote him a little note as a member of his "loyal opposition" extending my heartfelt good wishes for his speedy and complete recovery. A few days later I received his gracious and friendly acknowledgment, which will always have a place among my cherished souvenirs, a memento of a great citizen, a great American, a beloved and respected colleague.

All of America stood with bowed heads as our esteemed associate was laid to rest and as we marked his place of final repose we turned to contemplate a great and thriving democracy which his legislative ingenuity and forthrightness had helped to build. The great and free institution of American legislative process is his enduring monument but ultimate tribute to Mr. SAM will reside in the hearts of those who served with him and who will always recall his name as symbolic of American citizenship at its best. May the loved ones who mourn his passing find their grief intermingled with solemn pride in the privilege that family relationship and intimate association with this great patriot has brought them.

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Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, Mr. RAYBURN's death, while a great loss to the country, is a personal loss to me because he gave freely of the advice I sought from him since I first came to Congress. I will miss his good counsel. My relationship with him was more than political. It was deeply personal.

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Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, I join with others on this occasion to pay tribute to one of the grandest men I have ever known. He was a great man, a true friend, and a loyal American. The world is better by his having lived in it.

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Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in this Chamber is a void that is felt by all within its walls. SAM RAYBURN is no more. He is lost forever to the human vision of our eyes. Yet he is an indestructible part of what we are as legislators, of what others yet unborn will be when they come to take our places, an eternal part of his country and her destiny.

The moral fabric of a nation is not the weaving of one generation. SAM RAYBURN was among the immortal weavers of the garment of freedom. He will live in the garment he has helped to fashion. He will live in the souls of his countrymen and of all freemen in all the ages, in all the climbs from one pinnacle to a higher one.

What we have lost in the human associations with a friend we loved, a leader upon whom we leaned when strength we needed, has now become the heritage of the ages. Invisible, save in the sense of presence deep within us, SAM RAYBURN lives on.

Mr. Speaker, every member of this body during the speakership of SAM RAYBURN and prior to the 87th Congress, long will remember the remarks of Speaker RAYBURN at the close of each session. Because of the illness that had stricken him he was not with us when the first session of the 87th Congress adjourned sine die. Thus, his remarks on September 1, 1960, on the adjournment of the 86th Congress constitute his farewell to the House.

Because they embody so much that was the spirit and the purpose of SAM RAYBURN's life, his burning love of country, his dedication to upholding the dignity and the prerogatives of the House, his keen sense of the responsibility of the Congress to keep our country strong and free, it deserves preservation in this generation and constant reading and rereading by the men and women of succeeding generations as they come to this historic Chamber to take the seats that now we occupy.

Here is SAM RAYBURN's farewell address to his colleagues in the House of Representatives that was his life and love:

> We have come to the close of one of the busiest and, in my opinion, one of the most fruitful sessions of Congress it has ever been my privilege to serve in. I am winding up my 24th term. Throughout all the years in which I have served with something like 3,000 men and women in this House, I can look back on each and every one of them as men and women of high character, splendid people, and true representatives of their people. In being true representatives of their people they have served not only their people but the people of our beloved country.
>
> I shall never cease to hold in grateful memory the kindnesses and the compassion with which you have treated me. As Mr. Halleck said, this is an arduous and onerous position. Just 44 men have held it. Through the kindness of my folks back home and through your favor, I have served as Speaker longer than any other man in the history of the country, and on September 16 I will have wound up 16 years in this position. I want to say again to you, as I have said so often, that the House of Representatives has been my life and it has been my love. I never had any ambition to be a Governor or a Senator. I wanted to come to this body and stay here as long as my people favored me. They have been kind and fine to me as you have been.
>
> We have a great and glorious country. It does not have a long history, but it has a glorious history. No people on the face of the earth who live today or who ever did live have ever lived under a government where the people, the individual man and

woman, boy and girl, has as much liberty or enjoys as much freedom. It has been my purpose, and I trust in some way that I have lived up to it, and from the first time that I ever took this gavel, it was my hope, my trust and my ambition that I would uphold the dignity and the prerogatives of the House of Representatives against all winds—it mattered not from where they came. So today my heart is full of gratitude to you. I know you have worked hard—each and every one of you. I know you deserve some rest and change, and I trust that you get it to the fullest degree. I trust that when you come back here on the 3d of next January, you will be in good health, ready to go to work in doing the world's great work, because the Members of this House of Representatives are challenged to do the world's great work and part of that work is to keep our country strong, that it may remain free. We are faced with people throughout the earth, and especially in one part of it, whose people know no freedom and whose rulers acknowledge no God.

That makes it a dangerous world in which we live, I think the most dangerous which the civilization, yes, the Christian civilization that we know and love, has ever faced. It stands in greater danger today than it has at any time in the Christian era.

I know you are determined, have been in these past sessions, and that you will be in the sessions to come, and dedicated to keeping this country strong and keeping it free.

As you go home I wish you everything that is good. I wish that your people will receive you as you should be received, and that they will show appreciation for the great and the fine work you have done.

God bless you and keep you every one.

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Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great feeling of emotion that I offer a few most inadequate words in recognition, respect, and admiration of our late Speaker, the Honorable Sam Rayburn. These few words can serve only as a very minor complement to the great feeling of remorse that is expressed by not only every American citizen, but by people throughout the world, over the loss of this great American statesman. These words are coupled with an equally great feeling of gratitude generated by the benefits which will accrue to all mankind as fruits of his dedicated efforts.

The stature and proficiency of Speaker RAYBURN's service is most clearly indicated by the enviable length of time his constitutents demanded his service in the U.S. Congress and by the demand of his colleagues to serve them as Speaker of the House, a demand that carries with it the highest honor and respect ever paid to a Member of this House.

I am personally grateful, and will forever be benefited by, the honor and distinction of having served in the House of Representatives during the late Speaker's closing years of service to his Nation.

He will be missed. But certainly his resourceful, dedication, and patriotism will long live as an inspiration and guide to Members who remain and are to follow in charting the course of American history.

The name SAM RAYBURN has been indelibly etched into our illustrious history. Time will never dull it.

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Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Speaker, during 9 of the 13 years which I thus far have served as the Representative of the Second Connecticut District, Mr. SAM RAYBURN was the Speaker of this House.

When I first came here, in the 80th Congress, I was a freshman in a jubilant majority, and we enthusiastically elected a fellow New Englander, Joseph W. Martin, Jr., as Speaker. He was an able Speaker, and when once more we were in the majority, in the 83d Congress, we elected him again.

This year, when we came back for the 2d session of the 87th Congress, the majority of the House elected as Speaker another New England colleague, John W. McCormack.

During all of the rest of the time that I have been a Member of this House, it has been to the Representative of the Fourth Texas District that I looked with respect and admiration as the Speaker.

Had Speaker RAYBURN lived until the 6th of this month, he would have been 80 years old. He almost made it; but he did make many other records, perhaps the most important of which cannot be expressed in statistics.

I cannot speak about the 42 great Americans who preceded SAM RAYBURN in the office of Speaker of the House of Representatives, and it may be that of some of them this also could be said, but SAM RAYBURN was outstanding among those whose destiny it is to assume and assert leadership in government and in politics, in the fact that he had no enemies.

As a Representative, and as the leader of his party, he was a hard fighter and a tough opponent. As Speaker, he not only was eminently fair, but he wielded all of the vast powers of the office to which he was elected by his colleagues with courtesy and with dignity.

Although I was a member of the opposition party, and when he was Speaker was, of course, of the minority party, I enjoyed, as have all of the Members of this House, a personal friendship with him. On numerous occasions, I sought his counsel. He always gave it, not only with kindliness, but with good effect.

SAM RAYBURN was no backslapper; and I doubt if he ever slapped any backs, in the familiar fashion of political camaraderie, himself.

On several of the occasions, as I sat in the House when he was elected Speaker, he said that "the House of Representatives is my life." Those of us who have been privileged to serve with him will agree that he so regarded it.

Our country is fortunate to have had SAM RAYBURN for so long in the office which has become in our time third highest in our Government.

More than any one man, he has protected, defended, and perpetuated the House of Representatives as the Founding Fathers in writing the Constitution intended it to be—not "the lower House," in terms either of geography or status, but as the House in whose Members were reposed the most representative functions of our Government—the legislative body that per se is closest to the people.

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Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, last June when the House paid tribute to SAM RAYBURN's long and distinguished service as Speaker, one of the Members present said, "his work is not yet done."

Today, just months later, as we join to mark and mourn the passing of this great man, I still find those words truly prophetic.

SAM RAYBURN lives with and beyond us to inspire. Today, our colleagues will list the many ways in which his life and record offer guidance to all those who serve in public office. I should like to emphasize just one of these attributes, his stubborn love of country. From the first, Mr. SAM accepted public office with a determined and realistic understanding of its consequences. He learned to forget the part for the benefit of the whole. If at times he felt his country was lost, he never doubted that it could be found again. SAM RAYBURN could evaluate the shortcomings of his beloved country with sharp tongue and searing clarity but he never downgraded America.

If his example teaches us all to be as proud of America as we were of him, I am sure that somewhere SAM RAYBURN will gently drop his gavel and say, "The Nation is in order."

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Mr. MOOREHEAD of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I would like to add my tribute to those already given for the late Speaker of the House. The fact that my personal acquaintance with SAM RAYBURN was less than 1 year does not diminish my high regard and deep respect for him. We represented differing political philosophies. However, his fairness and his consideration, and his help to new Members of the House of Representatives is something which I shall never forget.

SAM RAYBURN leaves a large and important imprint upon the history of this Nation. It is easier to aspire to a position of statesmanship than it is to achieve it. SAM RAYBURN'S success in attaining it is rare indeed among the annals of history. He became a legend in his own lifetime. His preeminence among the great Speakers of the House of Representatives is guaranteed.

We mourn his loss in the House of Representatives, to which he dedicated his long life in the service of the people of our Republic.

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Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, this is the first session of Congress since 1913 that the House of Representatives convened without the beloved SAM RAYBURN as a Member. When Speaker RAYBURN was sworn in as a young freshman Congressman, he had already been a member of the Texas Legislature for 6 years. During the last 2 years in the Texas Legislature, he served as speaker of that body. When he was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives in September 1940, he had already enjoyed 30 years experience as a legislator. During that period of time, he had served as chairman of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee for 6 years and our majority leader for 3 years. No leader in the House of Representatives in our history ever was more qualified, for the office of Speaker, through practical legislative experience, than SAM RAYBURN. He demonstrated results of his long legislative experience by unquestionably making a record as Speaker which was unequaled by any predecessor since the origin of our great Republic.

Since he was first sworn in on March 4, 1913, SAM RAYBURN enjoyed the friendship and respect of thousands of Members of this House who have come and gone during this almost half-century of legislative service to his country. Members of this body for generations to come will read and study the great record and legislative achievements of the man whose memory we are commemorating today on the floor of the House of Representatives.

One of my outstanding memories of Speaker RAYBURN will always be the talk he made to the new Democratic Members of Congress at a luncheon when I came to this body in January 1943. He gave to us freshmen Congressmen sound and valuable advice which proved to be of great service to all of us during our years in the House of Representatives. He recounted his years as a new Congressman back during Woodrow Wilson's administration and the trying period of congressional service during the days of World War I. He also reviewed the problems and legislative duties he experienced during the administration of Presidents Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover in the 1920's. He recounted in detail the trying days during the first term of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the outstanding legislative programs enacted by the House of Representatives which succeeded in bringing our Nation back from the depths of economic depression, unemployment, and discontent throughout the Nation. SAM RAYBURN, during his 20 years as our Speaker and leader, was always willing to help and aid new Members of Congress with advice and suggestions that resulted in their avoiding the pitfalls and disappointments which would otherwise occur to new and inexperienced Members of this body. During my 19 years' service in the House, I, with others, have observed him as Speaker, successfully handle difficult and critical situations which have developed from time to time on the floor of this House during the heat of debate on important legislative matters. He was a tower of strength in maintaining the dignity of this, the greatest legislative body in the world, during his service as our leader. We who have served with him for a number of years, will always be conscious of the great loss this legislative body has suffered, and the Nation realizes that it has lost a great leader in his passing.

I was present at Bonham, Tex., last November, during the funeral of Speaker RAYBURN and witnessed the great outpouring of friends and neighbors from all over that State to pay a last tribute to this great legislator, statesman, and patriot. Two former Presidents, the President of the United States, Vice President, 200 Senators and Congressmen, Governors, and State leaders joined on that day with the citizens and folks in his native State in extending homage to a great American.

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Mr. O'BRIEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, we are here today to pay our respects not only to a great American but one of the greatest men ever to be elected to the Congress of the United States.

Mr. SAM was chosen by party colleagues in the Congress for the highest office it is their privilege to bestow, that of Speaker of the House, for a period twice as long as any other man in American history. I have had the good fortune of serving in this Chamber throughout the entire period of his stewardship as Speaker of the House.

I was also closely associated with SAM RAYBURN when we both served on the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Mr. RAYBURN will be an inspiration to every young man and woman who will read the history of America during the past 30 years.

I know no finer tribute could be paid our beloved Speaker SAM RAYBURN than to state what seems dear to me, that here was a man of decisive mind, of keen intelligence, of almost inexhaustible energy, who, nonetheless, loved his neighbor as himself.

I have lost a dear friend, and the country has lost a great statesman.

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Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, our Nation was saddened with the passing of Speaker SAM RAYBURN. In losing him we have truly lost "a man." It was Rudyard Kipling who wrote:

SAM RAYBURN

If you can keep your head when all about you
Are losing theirs and blaming it on you,
If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you,
But make allowance for their doubting too;
If you can wait and not be tired by waiting,
Or being lied about, don't deal in lies,
Or being hated, don't give way to hating,
And yet don't look too good, nor talk too wise:
If you can dream—and not make dreams your master;
If you can think—and not make thoughts your aim;
If you can meet with Triumph and Disaster
And treat those two imposters just the same.
If you can make one heap of all your winnings
And risk it on one turn of pitch-and-toss,
And lose, and start again at your beginnings
And never breathe a word about your loss.
If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue,
Or walk with Kings—nor lose the common touch,
If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you,
If all men count with you, but none too much;
If you can fill the unforgiving minute
With 60 seconds' worth of distance run,
Yours is the Earth and everything that's in it,
And—which is more—you'll be a Man, my son.

"SAM, be a man," his father said, and quite "a man" was he. Speaker RAYBURN gave his life so that this Nation might be a better one. He was dedicated to the proposition that politics deals with the great issues of right and wrong and with the nature and destiny of man. He realized that men are interdependent and not independent; that they must walk together if they are to make any great strides forward; that the triumph of evil requires only that good men do nothing.

His energies were those of the rugged pioneer. His service as creative as that of the finest sculptor. His courage as great as that of David. Waste time he would not. His efforts and skills were bent for the public well-being and guided by good judgment. Once a deed was undertaken, it was done well—it was done forever—for they alone fail who have not striven.

Sam Rayburn had an undying respect for our constitutional democracy. He had faith in the people and respect for their voices. He knew, as Andrew Jackson said:

> It is not the function of our Government to keep the citizen from falling into error; it is the function of the good citizen to keep the Government from falling into error.

The Speaker loved history and he made it. Early in his career, he was elected the youngest speaker of the Texas House of Representatives to his time. Throughout the years, his great legislative skills were called upon in war and in peace, in panic and in prosperity. His record as Speaker of this House may never be equaled. It most certainly can be said that upon assuming public office, Sam Rayburn became public property.

This House of Representatives was his life and his love. Since his boyhood he had dreamed to be its Speaker. His mission is complete and the House is a better place for his having served in it, but now he has moved to a higher House where he will dwell with the Lord forever.

Mr. Speaker, I am privileged to include as a part of my remarks the news release written immediately after the death of Sam Rayburn by William P. Arbogast of the Associated Press. Mr. Arbogast was a close friend of our late Speaker. His articles are noted for their clarity and sincerity of purpose:

(By William F. Arbogast)

Bonham, Tex., November 16.—House Speaker Sam Rayburn, Mr. Democrat to millions of Americans, died today.

Death ended the colorful political career of the 79-year-old Texan in a bed in Risser Hospital which he helped build in his little hometown. It denied to the man who had been Speaker of the House more than twice as long as anyone else one of his final wishes.

SAM RAYBURN

"I want to die with my boots on and with my gavel in my hand," the venerable dean of the 20th-century politics told friends when he left Washington last August for what was to be his final departure.

"They're going to have to carry me out of here, God willing. I love this House."

The official cause of RAYBURN's death was cancer. It was detected shortly after he entered the hospital on October 2 for a series of tests to determine what was causing a chronic back ailment. The ailment, originally described by RAYBURN as lumbago, forced him to abandon his post as boss of the House almost a month before the last session of Congress adjourned. It was an unprecedented thing for Mr. SAM to do, and friends immediately suspected that RAYBURN himself feared the worst.

Before returning to his Bonham farm for a rest, RAYBURN arranged for his majority floor leader, Representative John W. McCORMACK, of Massachusetts, to take over the speakership on a temporary basis. That act put McCormack in line for formal election as Speaker when the House reconvenes on January 10, 4 days after what would have been RAYBURN's 80th birthday.

With RAYBURN in his final hours were the few remaining members of what once had been a large family and several close friends.

A bachelor—his only marriage was dissolved several months after it took place in 1927—RAYBURN was a homeloving man. He detested Washington's social whirl of which he had to be a part and preferred to spend his leisure evenings in his homey rooms in a Washington apartment hotel. There he would sit for hours with friends, nibbling at a steak and sipping bourbon in moderation while watching television. He was an avid boxing and wrestling fan. He loved good food and good drink and enjoyed sharing it with his intimates.

RAYBURN considered the fancy victuals served at most Washington social affairs as "stuff for the birds."

Friends suspected that RAYBURN would have been a good, if doting, father. He loved children, especially boys.

"God." he once confided to a friend. "what I would give for a towheaded boy to take fishing."

Fishing was his favorite form of relaxation. He would go anywhere the fish were reported biting. To him, landing a scrappy bass was an accomplishment.

He was sensitive about two things, his lack of hair and his ill-starred marriage. He often accused photographers of focusing cameras in such a way as to emphasize his complete baldness.

He would not discuss his marriage to Miss Metze Jones, of Valley View, Tex., a sister of former Representative Marvin Jones, of Texas. They were married on October 15, 1927, and several months later the marriage was dissolved.

If RAYBURN ever had another romance, few people knew about it. He seemed in his later years to have the same feeling of "loneliness that breaks men's hearts" which he said he experienced as a boy on a Texas cotton farm.

Although a God-fearing man and a respecter of all religions, RAYBURN did not publicly embrace any religion until he was 74 years old. At that age he was baptized into the Tioga, Tex., Primitive Baptist Church.

Early in life, he recalled in reminiscent moods, he had an unforgettable experience with the Bible. He engaged in a Biblical argument with his father, lost the argument and had to eat standing up for a spell.

"I never argued the Bible after that," he said.

In a private hideaway in the Capitol, RAYBURN spent many sociable hours with his intimates. Known as "the board of education," the hideout was a gathering place for a select group of friends at the close of almost every daily session of the House.

Discussions covered a wide range of subjects—politics, family matters, sports, current events, legislative strategy. The high and the mighty in Washington were among visitors to "the board of education." Harry S. Truman was enjoying a sociable drink there late in the afternoon of April 12, 1945, when he received word that President Franklin D. Roosevelt had died.

Two Rayburn-imposed rules were enforced in "the board of education": all discussion was completely off the record, and jokes based on sex were frowned on.

RAYBURN enjoyed so-called "shaggy dog" stories but did not like jokes "that reflect on womanhood."

RAYBURN's down-to-earth political philosophy could be summed up this way:

"In politics you have to know how the people feel and what they are thinking. If you do not feel what you cannot see, you are dead. You have to be fair. You have to have vision. You have to learn to give and take. You must compromise when necessary. You have to work hard and keep in touch with your people. You have to have faith in the people because they are good and fair. Having good commonsense is not enough; you have to exercise it."

It was this philosophy which made RAYBURN's name synonymous with American politics and helped him scribe a lasting page in congressional history.

His records were not only those of longevity—he served in the House more than 48 consecutive years and was the speaker more than twice as long as the previous recordholder, Henry Clay.

He left his imprint on far-reaching legislation. The Rural Electrification Administration, the rural highway program, the Securities and Exchange Act, the Federal Communications Act and antitrust laws were among his legislative children.

RAYBURN loved a good political fight and never ran from one. He was at his best as chairman of Democratic national conventions.

He broke even in his last two major battles. He lost his fight to win the Democratic presidential nomination for Lyndon B. Johnson, a political protegé, but, always the loyal Democrat, he gave his wholehearted backing to the man who beat Johnson, President John F. Kennedy.

He started the year 1961 with what he considered the biggest political test of his career, a move to break a conservative coalition's hold on the House Rules Committee and thereby help the Kennedy legislative program. RAYBURN staked his personal prestige on the outcome. On the showdown vote of the 437 House Members, RAYBURN came out on top by the slim margin of 5 votes.

It was his final big political fight.

The House will, in routine manner, replace RAYBURN as its Speaker. It will have difficulty replacing the image he left in its historic chamber.

"I love the House," RAYBURN once said in a sentimental farewell talk at the end of a session.

The House loved RAYBURN, too, as it respected him. It will miss him for a long time. The place will not be the same without him. A piece of it died with him.

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Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Speaker, it is with a sad heart indeed that I take the floor of the House of Representatives today to say a few words of tribute to the man whom I considered the greatest American of this generation, SAM RAYBURN. SAM RAYBURN loved his country and he said that the House of Representatives was his life. I do not believe it would be possible even in a matter of weeks or months to reiterate or remind the people of this Nation of all the contributions SAM RAYBURN made to his country. To me, he was not only a great American and a great statesman, he was a friend. He was never too busy to discuss matters of state or personal problems with a Member of the House of Representatives and even with his tremendous burdens and responsibilities he never lost his love or affection for the children of our Nation and always derived a special pleasure in the happiness of a child.

The people of New Mexico join with me in this tribute to a great American from our neighboring State, SAM RAYBURN.

SAM RAYBURN

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, on November 16, 1961, a great tragedy befell the American people, a tragedy which seemed to hold a special and personal meaning for all Americans. On that day there passed from among us our great and beloved Speaker, the Honorable SAM RAYBURN, of Texas—known to all, high, and low, as Mr. SAM.

His passing was not in itself a great surprise. For most of the late summer and fall the American people had watched, prayed, and hoped as the valiant warrior fought his last fight against the kind of odds no man could surmount.

Although not a great surprise, it was nonetheless a shock, both to those of us who had served with him in the Congress, and to those in this Nation who had for so long depended upon him for the kind of leadership and statesmanship which was so uniquely his.

This great quality of leadership grew to fruition, slowly, and painfully nurtured by Mr. SAM himself over a long period of years. He served in the Congress for 48 years—nearly a half century—longer than any man before him in the history of the Republic. He served as Speaker of the House for over 16 years, more than twice as long as any man before him.

And yet, very early in his career—in fact, before he came to the Congress—this quality of leadership was apparent to those who knew and served with him. Back in 1907 he was first elected to the House of Representatives of the State of Texas by his friends and neighbors in Fannin County. He had not yet at the time passed the bar examination, but his spirit and capability were quickly recognized. By 1912 he had so well served in the Texas Legislature that he was elected its speaker.

In 1913 he was elected to the House and had served continuously in this great deliberative body since that time.

In the Congress his was not a meteoric rise. His claims to leadership were built slowly, but built solidly and his claim to an outstanding place in American history will be a lasting one.

As a legislator, we who come from predominantly rural areas, have much we owe him. For it was SAM RAYBURN who steered through the House of Representatives one of the most important pieces of legislation ever to affect the lives and homes of our American farmers—the Rural Electrification Act.

The men and women whose daily lives involve them in the commerce of the Nation, in its communications, or in its transportation, also owe him a great debt. For, as a legislator, he steered through the House the legislation setting up the basic laws governing our stock markets, our radio and television stations, our telephone and telegraph companies, our railroads, and our utilities.

The Nation as a whole owes him a great debt of gratitude for, during the trying and perilous times of World War II, he stood as a symbol of calm, dignified leadership as Speaker of the House.

The people of the free world owe him a great debt, too. For as Speaker and as a parliamentary leader of this House he has helped to build the framework upon which the defense of our Nation and of the free world is based during these crisis-ridden times of the cold war against world communism.

Mr. Speaker, during these times of crisis, the American people will miss the calm courage, the wise counsel, the leadership and the statesmanship of the late, great Speaker SAM RAYBURN.

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Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, today as the House pauses to pay tribute to the memory of our late beloved Speaker SAM RAYBURN, I wish to join my colleagues in saying again that I was deeply saddened at the passing of this great and good man, for whom I held warm and enduring personal affection and limitless respect.

Speaker RAYBURN was undoubtedly one of the greatest of all Americans. His legislative influence was broadly and wisely exerted through two World Wars, a major depression and several minor ones, periods of intense economic expansion and social change, and national crises without end.

The most eminent Member of Congress and one of the foremost public officials and men within the entire history of our Nation, Mr. Sam served the House of Representatives of the United States and our country with unwavering devotion and integrity, outstanding ability, and matchless distinction for nearly half a century. During almost 17 years as Speaker, more than twice as long as any of his predecessors served in that illustrious position, this revered dean of 20th century American Government made countless contributions to our country which have been, and shall continue to be, of inestimable worth. His deeds were indeed abundant.

A vital symbol of America's most challenging era, a profoundly sincere and dedicated public servant—whose wisdom and counsel and effort counted so long and so heavily in our Nation's affairs—Mr. Sam will surely occupy an esteemed place in America's history.

This Congress is not, and will never be, the same without Speaker Rayburn, and the loss to our Nation of his wise and steadfast leadership is one of immeasurable gravity.

My prayer today is that each one of us may be guided by the precept and example which Speaker Rayburn bequeathed to us, and that his immortal soul may rest in peace.

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Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, no matter what criteria are applied, Mr. Sam Rayburn ranked high: as a Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, as a Congressman, as a Democrat, as a dedicated public servant, as a friend, adviser, and confidant of Presidents, Congressmen, public officials, and private citizens.

Many men and women of both high and low station, of modest and great responsibilities, will miss him and the wisdom he so generously dispensed. I would like to join my colleagues of the House of Representatives who express their deep sorrow at the death of our beloved leader and friend, SAM RAYBURN. His notable contributions made over a period of 53 years of public service in the Texas House of Representatives and the U.S. House of Representatives have seldom if ever been equaled in American legislative history.

The extent of Speaker RAYBURN's influence and respect, moreover, was not merely a product of long service and high office. The greatness of his contribution was increased by his character, integrity, loyalty, dedication, and wisdom. These qualities enabled Speaker RAYBURN to occupy the decisive position and role in American National Government which he created.

Speaker RAYBURN was remarkably alert to the desires, needs, and hopes of the American people and the ways these needs could be satisfied by the U.S. Congress. I would like to underscore the fact that the benefits of his benevolence and wisdom will be missed by millions of Americans who have never met or been acquainted with him.

To those who knew SAM RAYBURN personally, his death leaves a void which must be accepted but cannot be filled. One can only acknowledge that the U.S. Congress and American people have lost a leader of statesmanlike stature. We can be thankful that it is men like SAM RAYBURN who have contributed importantly in augmenting the confidence, trust, and admiration which is placed in our Nation's leaders.

SAM RAYBURN will no longer contribute his knowledge and experience to national political life. He will be remembered by many colleagues with whom he served so well. He will be missed by no small number of Washington friends, associates, and assistants. SAM RAYBURN, however, now belongs to the annals of American legislative history and to the ages.

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Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, the passing of our beloved former Speaker, the Honorable SAM RAYBURN, of Texas, saddened my heart, as it did millions of other Americans.

It was my privilege to serve under his fine leadership here in the House for a period of 20 years, during which time I learned to know Mr. SAM well and thus to know him was to honor and respect him.

The day Mr. SAM had served as Speaker of the House of Representatives twice as long as any other Speaker, I said this on the floor of the House about this great and good man:

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, with pleasure I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Iowa [Mr. JENSEN].

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed a great honor and privilege to stand here in the House of Representatives and say to our Speaker the things I have in my heart. If I could have the time to express my deep thoughts of our great Speaker, it would take hours upon hours. I join in all the things that have been said on behalf of the Honorable SAM RAYBURN, of Texas.

I shall never forget one of the first years I served in this body. A housing bill was before the House of Representatives for consideration. The bill was debated, the time came for the offering of amendments, and having been in the lumber business for 24 years before I came to Congress, I saw in that bill a mistake which I felt should be corrected. So I offered an amendment to the bill. I stood on the very spot where I now stand and offered that amendment.

A point of order was raised against the amendment on the ground it was not germane to the bill. Our Speaker, Mr. SAM RAYBURN, a Democrat—I, a Republican—vacated his Speaker's chair, put another Member in his place, and came to my side while I was standing here, red faced. I did not know what to say or what to do because I had not anticipated that a point of order would be raised against my amendment. Mr. SAM said then, "Ask unanimous consent to withdraw your amendment to this section of the bill and offer it to section 9. It will be germane to section 9. You have a good amendment, and I want to see it passed."

And he resumed the chair.

I asked unanimous consent that my amendment be withdrawn to that particular section and at the proper time I again offered my amendment and it was agreed to by the House of Representatives.

You can imagine how I appreciated that help.

I know SAM RAYBURN to be fair, reasonable, courteous, and helpful to new Members. For that we love him. Among the many other attributes that Mr. RAYBURN has is his great ability.

I read in the paper the other day that his physician had given Mr. SAM a thorough physical examination. After the examination his physician said "Mr. SAM, you are going to live to be 106 years old."

Mr. SAM RAYBURN said, "I will settle for 104."

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Mr. HULL. Mr. Speaker, it is with mixed feelings of profound sadness and joyful appreciation that I rise to pay tribute to the memory of one of the greatest leaders of this greatest of all deliberative bodies, the late Speaker SAM RAYBURN.

We reflect with sadness on the absence from this Chamber of a statesman who served America and the Fourth District of Texas with unsurpassed dedication in the House for almost half a century.

And it is with sadness that I must accept the loss of a generous counselor and true friend whose interest in me personally I will cherish as long as I live.

Few men in the history of Congress have possessed Speaker RAYBURN's broad grasp of national goals and problems, his legislative acumen, and his abiding faith in the democratic process, which he so effectively guarded during his years at the helm of this House. At this ominous hour in the history of our Nation, we can poorly afford the loss of this great American.

And yet we know with joy that Mr. SAM has gone to a greater reward than this world could give him and that he has found the peace which this world has never known.

We can derive a feeling of joy from having known him and shared in his wisdom and friendship.

I well remember that even in his busy hours, with the momentous business of the Congress weighing on his mind, he always had time to shake the hands of our constituents when they toured the Capitol and offer advice or tell an anecdote to our young visitors. He gave unselfishly of his time and energy in advice and counsel not only to other Members of the House but all with whom he came into contact.

His ability, courage, dignity, kindness, and his unmovable integrity will flourish as a source of inspiration and guidance to the Members of this Congress and every Congress to follow as long as this Nation shall exist.

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Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the passage of time has tended to soften the harshness of sorrow evoked by the death of Speaker RAYBURN. What remains—and what will remain for many years to come—is a feeling of profound sadness at the loss of a great leader, a devoted American, and a true friend.

I know that all of us here, and the entire Nation, share in that loss and in that sadness.

We have been privileged to know a truly great man. Among public figures of the past half a century, some were held in higher popular esteem, and some have achieved more prominence than did SAM RAYBURN. And yet, in that critical period, few have equaled his contribution to the public cause.

In his 49 years in Congress, Speaker RAYBURN had probably done more than any single man to shape our country's response to the grave challenges which faced us as we reached our national maturity and entered into the arena of world politics.

His efforts, his convictions, and his achievements are embedded in the legislative bedrock of our key domestic and international programs.

Mr. Speaker, few men are blessed with the honor of working with and sharing the friendship of a person who becomes a legend in his own lifetime.

Such a man was Mr. SAM.

He was a great legislator, a loyal counselor of Presidents, a tower of strength to his countrymen.

I am proud that I had the privilege of serving with him in these Halls. I mourn his passing, but I know that our country is better for his life and his work among us.

May God grant him eternal rest.

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Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, our country suffered a deep and immense loss with the passing of our former beloved Speaker, SAM RAYBURN. A man of the people, dedicated to the people and to this House, which was his life and his love, his absence will be felt for many years to come. Mr. SAM thoroughly understood the principles upon which our Government was founded, for he himself was the living example of what can be achieved by hard work and devotion to duty in a free society under a freely elected Government. Coming from a poor, hard-working and honest family, he rose in rank to the third highest post in our Government. He did this by diligently working for the people who elected him, for his party, and for the Nation as a whole always with their best interests in mind.

We Members of the House who so often benefited from his counsel and advice will especially miss him.

To his bereaved family, I extend my deepest sympathy and condolences.

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Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues, in a few words of tribute to our late Speaker. Speaker RAYBURN will always live in the history of a grateful Republic as one of her greatest servants. He was a man of true integrity and of great ability. He always protected the best interests of this House in every way possible.

No one could surpass his devotion to our great Nation, and no one could surpass his desires to uphold the principles which have made this Nation great. His courage, foresight, fairness, and sound judgment have contributed to the strength of the House of Representatives and to the strength of the Nation as a whole.

He will ever be my example of a true statesman, one who was thoroughly human, who was endowed with real ability and sterling honesty—all dedicated to secure the best interests of the country he loved and served so long. He will be missed by this Nation as long as it exists.

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Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, I hasten to join my colleagues, on this sad occasion, to pay honor to a late and beloved American, Speaker SAM RAYBURN. I would almost say SAM RAYBURN, of Texas, but while we all know of his Texas birth, his love for his native State, his pride in his heritage, the late SAM RAYBURN was SAM RAYBURN of the United States, SAM RAYBURN of the Democratic Party, SAM RAYBURN world figure, and now, like Lincoln, SAM RAYBURN "belongs to the ages."

At the same time that our beloved Speaker belongs to the ages because of his untimely passing, he also belongs, indelibly, to all of us who were privileged to serve with and under him. The memory of his life, and those times when we were privileged to talk with him, or have audience with him, or just watch him preside, gives us comfort against distress, confidence against adversity, unceasing pride in the great Nation and its people, whom he served so nobly and usefully. The very manner in which he presided was, and continues to be, an inspiration to all of us.

He recognized the fact that the Democratic Party was and is made up of many facets, that this alone proved that that party, which he loved so much, was and is a party of all the people. And so it was that, time after time, his influence was used to maintain harmony. He never once participated in, or encouraged, any prejudice, and he looked at the Nation as a whole, and at the party as representing, and serving, a whole nation.

I repeat here what I have so often said in public and in private: Speaker SAM RAYBURN, great and busy man that he was, always had time for you. I have never asked an audience but what I received one, and was always greeted and treated cordially. This, to me, was just another evidence of his greatness.

While he loved his party, he always put his country above party, above self, exhibiting inspiring patriotism at all times. I feel certain history will spotlight his service as the greatest example of bipartisan patriotic legislature service of his time.

I salute those who rise to do him honor.

To his family, his legion of friends, I offer my deep and continuing sympathy.

Amid the great grief which accompanied and survived his passing, I cannot but inject a note of gratitude. For my part I am grateful that he lived, grateful that he served, glad that I knew and served with him; I consider it one of the great privileges of my service here.

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Mr. LANDRUM. Mr. Speaker, this Nation will not produce another Sam Rayburn. His life span links the primitive life of the pioneers of this country with the present age of space. His knowledge of the country, his understanding of the people, coupled with the superior vision with which he was endowed, made him a great leader in Government.

History will record his contributions to the public welfare among the most important made during our march from pioneer hardships to an economic position unexcelled in the world, but I think he would have been great in any other field in which he might have chosen to work. He could have been a great lawyer and I am certain that he would have been a great teacher for, although he was not one by profession, he did, by his actions and his examples to others, teach in the real sense that men learned by being associated with him.

In measuring the true greatness of those who attain heights like Mr. Rayburn, we sometimes think in terms of the big things which they did and the world-shaking events in which they participated. While there is an abundance of such accomplishments by which we could measure him, I believe that the human quality of genuine sincerity in the interest of people and their problems is the one characteristic which destined him to become the great leader that he was. I never saw him too busy to lend an understanding ear to a problem of a new, inexperienced and obscure Member of the House of Representatives. No matter how pressed for time or how simple and insignificant the request, he was always anxious to be of help to everyone. I recall an occasion shortly before it became necessary for him to leave Washington and go home for the last time when I had two young ladies, each 16 years of age, visiting in the gallery, one of whom had known him and had expressed a desire to have her visiting friend meet him. I told him of this while he was presiding over debate in the House and asked him if, at such time as he was able to leave the Chair, he would mind stepping into the corridors and give these young ladies the pleasure of meeting him. His immediate response was, "Why wait? Bring them into the Speaker's offices," and there, for more than a half hour, he recited the history of this country as he had seen it develop during his long years of public service, telling them of his library and the legislative history stored in that memorial at Bonham. Twice during this discussion with these young ladies I suggested we had taken enough of his time and, on the second occasion, he commanded me to sit down that I also needed to hear some of what he was saying. It was during this visit that I concluded SAM RAYBURN would have made a great teacher for, while he discussed his associations with the growth and development of America, I saw two young ladies not yet out of high school enthusiastically attentive to a lesson which even they recognized as extraordinarily great. As he embraced these young girls upon leaving his office, I thought of the phrase from Carl Sandburg in his description of Abraham Lincoln and said to myself, "there too is a man as soft as the drifting fog and yet as firm and hard as the steel which supports the Capitol he so dearly loves."

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, SAM RAYBURN will always be remembered for his complete dedication to his country and his fellow man. In his 55 years in public service he was devoted and espoused to give all of energy to the welfare and enlightenment of his America. None of us, here, who have known him can ever forget his full effort and energy to be able to give of his all to protect and keep democracy alive. History gives note of many leaders and great men who have built great nations.

But SAM RAYBURN gave all he had to be able to assist in the great problems that confronted his State and his country from 1906 to the day of his death.

The duties of the office of Speaker of the House call for a strong and agile body, a quick and able mind, an ability to determine many differences, the sagacity of Solomon and the graciousness of the finest host.

To lead the House of Representatives through the many wars and the major trials since 1913 called for courage and great acumen.

Gentlemen, we could carry on this eulogy for many days but it would sum up to an acknowledgment that in the death of SAM RAYBURN the country and, yes, the free world lost one of its greatest exponents and warriors.

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Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, it is very difficult to find the right words to describe the late Speaker RAYBURN. Small words of faint praise are obviously inadequate; and yet, because he was a simple and unpretentious man, flamboyant rhetoric seems equally inappropriate. Nor, perhaps, should a junior Member of the opposite party presume to speak in the midst of those who have known Mr. SAM so well, and worked with him over a long period of time.

And yet we cannot remain silent, for it is seldom indeed that we are privileged to serve with a man on whom the judgment of history is even now being pronounced. It is as though—the trial being completed—the jury did not choose even to leave the courtroom, but instead had simply instructed its foreman to rise and deliver the verdict. And if Speaker RAYBURN's full role does not appear in the history books of our country, it is only because those books have not yet been written. But the day is not distant when children throughout the land, as they study the history of this House, will learn the name of SAM RAYBURN in the same breath with Henry Clay, and Joe Cannon. For our part, we who were his colleagues can say with quiet pride in years to come, "I served in the House when SAM RAYBURN was Speaker." And that indeed is no small thing.

Mr. Speaker, I will not try to recite the many personal qualities which set Mr. SAM apart. It is proper, I think, to leave that task in the good and able hands of other friends who have already today paid such eloquent tribute. Yet in this regard, I would like to close with four lines from Alexander Pope, who says so briefly and so well what we might struggle all day to express. And although this passage was written over 200 years ago about another man, it applies equally today to our late and honored Speaker:

> Statesman, yet friend to truth; of soul sincere
> In action faithful, and in honor clear;
> Who broke no promise, serv'd no private end,
> Who gained no title, and who lost no friend.

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Mr. **HOEVEN**. Mr. Speaker, in the passing of Speaker RAYBURN, the country has lost one of its foremost citizens. Not only was SAM RAYBURN one of the greatest Speakers of the House of Representatives, but he was also one of America's greatest statesmen.

Speaker RAYBURN won his spurs the hard way in the real American tradition which permits even a poor country boy to rise to one of the most important positions in our Federal Government. Speaker RAYBURN understood the longings and desires of the common man because he was a common man himself. He was honest and sincere, and he spent the better part of his life serving his fellow man. What greater tribute can be given to any man?

Speaker RAYBURN was a loyal Democrat, but as Speaker of the House of Representatives, he was fair and impartial to Democrats and Republicans alike. The House of Representatives was his first love, and he was the greatest champion of its rights and prerogatives. His name will go down in history as one of the greatest Speakers in our day.

SAM RAYBURN and I were good friends and I greatly appreciated his many acts of kindness which came my way throughout the years. I mourn his passing and can only take consolation in the fact that as a Christian gentleman, Speaker RAYBURN served well his day and generation.

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Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I am grateful for the opportunity today to rise to pay tribute to a great American, the late Speaker RAYBURN of Texas. Speaker RAYBURN's career stands clearly as an example of what all Americans should aspire to be—a leader and a great citizen. Speaker RAYBURN was one of the most effective citizens this Nation has ever known, and his life stands as a model and an inspiration to us all.

Mr. RAYBURN was born in 1882 and moved to Texas shortly thereafter. His background was simple and unpretentious, and he attended the public schools. Speaker RAYBURN was a lawyer by profession and was admitted to the bar shortly after graduation from law school.

As you all know, his great career of public service began in 1907 when he was elected to the Texas State House of Representatives, and his career in legislative leadership was launched when he was elected State speaker in 1912.

Elected to the 63d Congress of the United States in 1913, Speaker RAYBURN began a career as a legislator which has known no parallel in this Nation's history. He served as majority leader in the 75th and the 76th Congresses and finally, in 1940, was elected Speaker of the House—the House he loved, and as you know, he holds the extraordinary record of maintaining the speakership of this House longer than any other man.

I am privileged to serve on the same committee, the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of which Speaker RAYBURN was a member and chairman. His traditions of fair play and concern for public interest may yet be seen in the legislation it dealt with during his service.

Mr. Speaker, the people of Florida join me in paying tribute to Mr. RAYBURN, for he did much to lay the groundwork for the growth our State now undergoes. His loss is mourned and felt, though his spirit lives on.

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Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, there is so very much that can be said today about the loss to America in the death of our beloved Speaker, the late SAM RAYBURN. History, however, will take a less personal viewpoint than we here today and will proclaim the great gains enjoyed by America as a result of Mr. SAM's service to his country. But, being mortal men subject to human emotions, today we express and record forever our love and respect for SAM RAYBURN, the man.

Speaker RAYBURN's forte—the vital quality for success as Speaker—was the ability to translate a legislative need, via the members of this House, into effective law. So his business dealt in men—knowing them and acquiring an adequate degree of their cooperation, agreement and goodwill to create our intricate product, the law of the land.

He put his mark on this House of Representatives and made it greater in many ways, one of which was by freely assisting its newly elected members to better fulfill their responsibilities to the people. He gave us access to his vast experience at any time, but he was never aloof or above lending a human touch to a situation. Perhaps I am tempted to speak too personally about my relatively short association with him, but often experiences that are passed off as insignificant at the moment of their occurrence are, in the final accounting, revealing. We sometimes allow these incidents to go unmentioned at a time such as this in the fear that they will be considered inappropriate. To the contrary, though, I view them as an insight into SAM RAYBURN's character and greatness.

I remember one day during my first year as a Member of this great body, I was guiding two elderly constituents, lovely and impressionable ladies, through the halls of the Capitol, pointing out the sights—still somewhat unfamiliar to me. In one corridor we met the Speaker walking briskly toward us. He greeted us heartily, as was his manner, and I responded respectfully. He immediately picked up the conversation, and, before I realized it, he was leading us all down the hall to his office, continuing the tour as we went. The ladies were entranced; the Speaker was enchanting; and I was amazed and grateful. Mr. SAM had not been cornered; he had given freely of his irreplaceable time, not only to a freshman member of the opposition party in the Congress, but to two ladies from a far away State. Mr. SAM was never too busy or too prepossessed to spend a moment with each of us. When he did so, we always came away more familiar with the complexities of this House and enriched by a lesson in its workings.

And so today we feel not just an impersonal loss to the Nation in the passing of SAM RAYBURN. We have experienced the removal of an integral part of our daily lives. We grieve as Americans and as friends.

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Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, I, too, wish to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the memory of a great leader.

Few men, under the stresses that accompanied his long service in the Congress and his long tenure as Speaker and leader of the House of Representatives, could have maintained the mental balance that SAM RAYBURN did. That he served constructively in this House through two world wars, through periods of giddy boom and dismal bust, as well as through periods of evolution bordering on revolution, would be credit to any man. But Mr. Sam did more than that. He led—and his steady hand on the helm of legislation will be recorded in history.

Let us remember Sam Rayburn as we proceed into the future and maintain the sanity that the times require.

My own personal sympathies go out to the Rayburn family although they will all be sustained and soothed by the knowledge of the great good he did for the country he loved.

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Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Speaker, no man loved the House of Representatives more than Sam Rayburn, and no man was more beloved by the House. His death is a great personal loss to each of us.

Nothing we say here today can add to the stature Speaker Rayburn earned for himself during his lifetime of service to his country. His position was unique in the long history of the House and his achievements live on in the large body of law under which our country has grown to greatness.

There can be no finer monument to this man whose half century of public service gave him a deep sense of history and of the continuity in American public affairs. A man who participated in the decisions of great crisis, he also knew that democracy flourishes best in the day-to-day effort to improve man's lot.

Americans everywhere share in his family's sense of loss, for he was first and foremost a great and good American.

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Mr. SLACK. Mr. Speaker, like most of us present today, this will be the first session of the Congress in which I will serve while the office of Speaker of the House is occupied by someone other than Mr. Sam Rayburn, of Texas. Custom decrees that we should refer to him as "the late Speaker Rayburn" but I feel that such a reference implies a dilution of his influence which is not supported by the evidence all around us.

As the years pass by we are all privileged to know individuals who stand head and shoulders above their contemporaries within the range of a particular profession. It has been often noted that the capacity to encourage the development of such individuals is one of the deep-rooted sources of our national strength. Viewing the pattern of events during recent years we must inevitably conclude that Speaker RAYBURN was that most remarkable of all individuals—one who could maintain a marked superiority of stature by comparison with not only his contemporaries but also by measurement against the rising leadership of several new generations.

All of us have been taught that ours is a government of laws and not of men; however, like most such statements it is subject to some qualifications when applied to the realities of a fluid situation. The ever-changing needs and objectives of our growing American Nation requires that our Government remain fluid and flexible responsive to the people as they encounter successive problems and as they signify a desire to reach new goals. An understanding of this circumstance was, to my mind, the key to the greatness of Speaker SAM RAYBURN.

His career emphasizes how well he understood the first requirement for a successful representative government. That requirement is simply for the legislative process to be organized productively. As a center post around which contending voices and forces could revolve while they measured their strength and arrived at a decision, he had confidence that firmness and fairness in his chair would give direction to the energies of all of us, and we would thereby arrive at acceptable decisions most of the time.

We have been diminished by his passing, but he would be the first to tell us that others will rise to an equal height of respect in this Chamber, and that his legacy to us is a will to work, to be fair, and to remember always that we cannot avoid our obligation to play a role in the writing of history.

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, we meet today to eulogize one of the greatest Americans of our time, one of the most renowned public servants ever to serve in the Congress of the United States, a man who will be acclaimed by history to be one of the greatest Speakers of the House of Representatives, as we who had the privilege to serve with him now acclaim him; a man dear to all of us, and held in high esteem by millions of people throughout our country, our late Speaker, SAM RAYBURN, of Texas. There is sadness in our hearts and we deeply mourn him.

Our President spoke our sentiments when he said:

> Mr. SAM RAYBURN is gone; neither this House nor the Nation is the same without him.

We have suffered a great loss; our entire Nation has suffered a great loss. SAM RAYBURN devoted all his time, all his talents, his life, to his arduous duties in behalf of his people and his country. We who benefited by his leadership in his capacity as Speaker, have knowledge of his brilliant statesmanship, his fairness and integrity, the confidence he instilled, his loyalty, the tremendous contributions he made to the well-being of our people, the preservation of our liberty and the ideals of democracy. Many thousands of magnificent tributes have been paid to SAM RAYBURN throughout the years; he was highly deserving of them all.

Mr. SAM RAYBURN is gone—but the memory of his inspiration and the fine examples he set for us to emulate will remain.

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Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, I want to join my colleagues in their expressions of sorrow at the loss of former Speaker SAM RAYBURN. He was a great American and a man who believed fervently in the procedures and responsibilities of this House. He has left his mark upon the Congress and upon our Nation.

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. Mr. Speaker, when many of us were at the White House this morning there was a universal feeling of deepest regret that our dear and tried friend, Speaker SAM RAYBURN, was no longer with us; in fact, this was the feeling of the whole country when he was taken from us. No public servant in the past decades has been more universally respected than our beloved, now deceased, leader, Mr. RAYBURN. There was in his presence a well earned feeling not only of respect but also of confidence. Partly, this was the result of his able mind; but more certainly it was the result of the absolute integrity of his life and deeds. There is no doubt that the most important quality in public service is integrity. Speaker RAYBURN had this quality through every portion of his life and being. Free government in our country and throughout the world is stronger because of the life he led. No man could want a better memorial than that.

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Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the everlasting memory of a great man—Speaker SAM RAYBURN.

No words of mine can adequately express my affection and respect for our former Speaker. To me, he was a man among men. As a man he always seemed to me to be a tower of confident strength. No responsible person ever questioned his word or his motive. He was a man other men loved and respected. He was a man who loved and respected his fellow man. Perhaps this was the cornerstone of his greatness. He could associate with Kings and Queens—and yet—he had the common, gentle and kind touch that endeared him to the hearts of all who knew him. As with every other man, he must have had frailties, but they were uncommonly few.

The good Lord blessed Speaker RAYBURN with great talents and they were used as He intended.

The author is unknown to me, but the following words will express the feelings of many Americans:

The tall Cedar fell
And left a lonely place against the sky.

My deepest regret is that I did not have the opportunity to know him sooner and longer.

* * *

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, as we assemble today to pay our respects to the memory of the great Speaker Sam Rayburn, I am sure that we all are aware of our inability to express in words the deep sentiments which all of us feel. The shock which we experienced in the passing of this great American from earthly existence is still with each of us and will remain throughout our lifetime.

I count it one of the great privileges of my life to have had an opportunity to know this great man. To have served with him in the Congress of the United States was a privilege which I shall always cherish. The warm friendship which he displayed toward me for many years before my becoming a Member of the Congress will always be a fond memory, but the privilege to have been associated with him in the important affairs of our Nation heightened my love and respect for him.

It was in 1940 that I first met Speaker Rayburn. At that time he came to my community to speak to the Gastonia Junior Chamber of Commerce while I was serving as president of that organization. At that time Mr. Rayburn was majority leader in the House of Representatives. The impression that he made upon our community remains today in the hearts and minds of all who had the opportunity to meet and hear him speak. During the intervening years and on my visits to Washington I always made it a point to come by and visit with the Speaker briefly. In spite of his onerous duties I always found that he had time to exchange greetings and in many cases to sit down and talk to me and give me the benefit of his counsel.

Upon my entering upon my service in the House of Representatives in 1957 Mr. RAYBURN went to considerable inconvenience to visit with me and my family in the Capitol. His kindness toward my mother and the expressions which he made at that time will always be remembered by her with deep gratitude and will remain in my mind as marked evidence of the generosity of this great man to those with whom he came into contact.

Mr. Speaker, I shall miss SAM RAYBURN. Each Member of the House of Representatives will miss him. Furthermore, every American will miss him.

His life of service was noteworthy because of his consideration of the welfare of all of the people. The legislative mark that he made will perhaps never be equaled in the history of our country. This mark was made not merely by length of service, but by the high purpose and lofty ideals which this great man translated into action.

On these occasions it is customary for us to extend to the family of a departed colleague our sentiments of deep sympathy. To be sure, I extend my sympathies to the family of Speaker RAYBURN, but I feel that this would not be adequate to cover those to whom we should extend our sympathy on this occasion. And so, Mr. Speaker, I would broaden my remarks to extend sympathy to all Americans and to free people everywhere who have lost a fearless leader in the cause of humanity, the late Honorable SAM RAYBURN, of Texas.

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Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, on June 12 of last year in this Chamber we celebrated the occasion which marked the date on which SAM RAYBURN had served as Speaker of the House of Representatives twice as long as any of his predecessors.

At that time, Mr. Speaker, your remarks were the first of many tributes which eloquently expressed the deep regard and affection in which SAM RAYBURN was held.

Today we express our sorrow that he is no longer with us, and that the country which he loved so devotedly will no longer have the benefit of his great experience and his leadership.

We shall remember Mr. SAM as a friend. No matter what pressures he was under, his door was always open to any Member who sought his guidance and counsel—and there are few of us here who did not do so on many occasions.

He will be remembered as one of the great Americans of all time. His integrity, his dedication to his country and his long and unparalleled service in this House was an inspiration to all who had the privilege of knowing him over the years and will inspire future generations of our countrymen.

We mourn SAM RAYBURN's death with a sense of great loss, but we are grateful for all that he contributed to the national life and to the world.

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Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, Mr. SAM was my friend. He had the knack of making each Member of the House feel that he was his personal friend.

I will never forget the first day I came to Washington, 18 years ago, and I went to see the Speaker. He said, "Adam, everybody thinks you're coming down here with a bomb in each hand. Maybe you are, but don't throw them. Feel your way around. You have a great future."

It is my feeling that he said that or something like that to every freshman Member of the House of Representatives. All through the years he maintained this fatherly attitude. When I was wrong, he chastised me and sometimes would even punish me. When I was right, he covered me with praise.

The last time I spoke with him was the day he was leaving. I was talking to John McCormack by phone. I said, "John, is the Speaker there or has he left?"

John said, "Here he is, Doc."

I said, "Mr. Speaker, take it easy, relax, and have a good rest."

And so he has gone to the land of the good rest. He served his God, his country, and his fellow man with greatness and dignity.

"Go thou and do likewise."

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Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, I, too, would like to join the many Members who have here today expressed their sorrow at the passing of Mr. RAYBURN. My acquaintance and friendship with Mr. RAYBURN, predates my service in Congress by many years. I very fondly recall that in 1958, while serving as the national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, that I called on our Speaker many times. I discussed our problems with him, especially those pertaining to our national defense posture, and needed remedies concerning our Nation's ex-servicemen and women, and our veterans. He always lent a very sympathetic ear, to the problems that I advanced in behalf of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and never failed to give good advice and encouragement. A very proud moment in my life was the presentation of that organization's highest award to Mr. SAM, during the legislative banquet here in the city of Washington, D.C., February 1958. Mr. RAYBURN was a great American, and a fine and good man. His absence here in this Chamber will be a loss to this Nation and to the world.

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Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, it was with great sadness that the Members of the Congress of the United States, as well as citizens from all walks of life across our Nation, learned of the death of Speaker SAM RAYBURN. He was loved and respected by all who knew him personally and by those who knew of his lifelong service to his country.

The contributions that our late Speaker made to his State, to his country, and to the world, indeed, are too numerous to mention. He was noted for his deep convictions and he had the courage to fight for those convictions.

It has been previously pointed out that after a distinguished career in the Texas Legislature, SAM RAYBURN came to the Congress from the Fourth District of his native State. Through his abilities to debate, to understand, to delve into the heart of the vast national and international problems before him, he advanced to the position of Speaker of the House of Representatives. In this Chamber he justly gained the high regard of his colleagues on both sides of the aisle. He was always a counselor and friend.

Speaker RAYBURN was a believer in our constitutional system. He respected our two-party system of government, and yet, though a strong and fair partisan, he placed his country above his party. These characteristics of true statesmanship became known throughout the length and breadth of our land and the name SAM RAYBURN became a symbol of the American way of life.

When I first came to the House of Representatives in 1945 from the 11th District of Pennsylvania, to me, SAM RAYBURN was one of the leading figures in the United States. His words of sound advice, his friendly demeanor, his firm but courteous conduct of the affairs in the House of Representatives, were impressive, and brought to this legislative assembly strength and prestige.

Mr. RAYBURN never feared to accept responsibility. His reasoning was sound; his words were honest and forthright.

It is appropriate that on this occasion we recall the words of Speaker RAYBURN which are taken from his speech at the Democratic National Convention held at Philadelphia in 1948. He was elected permanent chairman of that convention and I quote his words which hold timeless advice to this Nation:

> Never before have free governments had to face a war which so drained the material resources of nations and, more important, the souls and confidence of men. Never before have free governments had to face such an aftermath of war. Mountains of problems must be met; mountains of expectations cannot fail; mountans of confidence we must instill in the hearts of our own people and the peoples of the earth.

> All of this leadership was thrust upon us and was not of our choosing, but leadership of the world has been handed to us. We must accept the challenge. We must accept the responsibility if we are to live in a world that is worth living in.

Today we bow in solemn remembrance of the man who gave us this advice. To his family we extend our deep and sincere sympathy. The late SAM RAYBURN was, indeed, a revered product of his beloved Nation.

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Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, March 4, 1961, SAM RAYBURN spoke at the centennial celebration of Abraham Lincoln's first inauguration as President of the United States. He delivered a brief, but eloquent and moving address, the words of which caused me to compare the circumstances of Lincoln's inaugural with those of our more recent past—the months just previous to the entry of this country into the Second World War. Mr. Speaker, I would like to read some excerpts from Mr. SAM's address, before going on to make this comparison in greater detail.

> Prejudice, hate, agitation brought about the Civil War. I have always thought that if it had not been for hotheads in the South and the inane and insane agitators of the North that Abraham Lincoln, by his justice, his fairness, his great statesmanship, would have prevented the Civil War which destroyed the flower of our young manhood in this country that at that time was so sorely needed.
>
> As the son of a Confederate soldier, who did what he thought was right, I say for him and for myself after that was over, he was proud our Union was preserved.
>
> The saddest thing that ever happened to the border States and the Southland was for an insane man to assassinate Lincoln. Lincoln was strong enough in the hearts and minds of the people in the North that he could have prevented, and would have prevented, some terrible things happening in some parts of our beloved country.

Now these are serious words, coming as they do from the man, who of all the proponents of extending the Selective Service Act in 1941, most influenced its passage.

I am not suggesting any facile comparison of our late Speaker to Lincoln. Rather, I do suggest that SAM RAYBURN's deep understanding of history gave him the vision to look ahead of his own times toward the possibilities of crisis and catastrophe. Without his effort, our country would have entered World War II with an army of 400,000—1 million less than the already inadequate force which the draft extension preserved.

But my point, Mr. Speaker, is this: any man with the compassion displayed in the centennial speech I have quoted, with a true sense of the tragedy of war, commits an act of statesmanship when he calls to arms young men—his fellow citizens not fully grown. Of course, Mr. SAM bore a different responsibility from that of President Lincoln; but he rose to the major crisis of his day with a similar kind of courage and he exerted a leadership of sufficient strength to raise a reluctant and unwieldy Congress with him.

He was, as he remarks, the son of a Confederate soldier. Yet he did as much as any man of this century to strengthen our Union by giving it a strong Congress. For the most part, he worked quietly, and his achievements were unspectacular, and I single out his work on the draft bill only as a dramatic example. It exemplifies the farsightedness of his patriotism, and his willingness to make the sacrifices necessary to maintain our national integrity. It exemplifies, Mr. Speaker, that SAM RAYBURN was a great man with whom all of us are honored to have served.

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Mr. GARY. Mr. Speaker, a mighty oak has fallen. Its roots were deeply imbedded in the traditions of America for many years. The sound of its fall reverberated throughout the United States and cast a gloom over the land. SAM RAYBURN exemplified the highest qualities of our civilization. A man of absolute integrity, he scorned everything that was mean and low. His long and distinguished service to his district, State, and Nation has indelibly etched his name in the Hall of Fame as one of the great statesmen of all time. There is little that we can say today to add to his memory, but with my colleagues I mourn his passing and thank Almighty God that he gave to the world Mr. SAM, Mr. Democrat, and Mr. Speaker.

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Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I arise in sorrow on this occasion. The passing of Mr. RAYBURN is a great national loss and a great personal loss to me. In my opinion, he was the outstanding American of his generation.

His services to the Nation have been noteworthy. Not only the obvious ones he performed as Speaker for so many years, but in many other subtle, less well known ways. He was the intimate and respected adviser of Presidents, the worthy and able representative of his people, the friend, counsellor and trusted leader of a long series of Congressmen, of whom I am one.

SAM RAYBURN's influence on the course of legislation and on the legislative branch of Government was without parallel. Through the many years as Speaker and as party leader, he has always wisely used his great influence for the highest type of legislation in keeping with his personal integrity and traditions.

The loss of his guiding hand will be very great. To a Member who has served with him and under him, the loss is even greater. He was a rare combination of wisdom, integrity and absolute honesty. His passing leaves in me a personal sorrow and a place which never again can be filled.

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Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, I know of no man who more richly deserves the many wonderful, heartfelt expressions of sympathy which have been expressed here today than does our late beloved Speaker, SAM RAYBURN.

When I received the news of his death, it was as if I had lost a member of my own family. Certainly, I had lost a friend.

I think, Mr. Speaker, that the one thing I remember most vividly about this great man was his friendliness. He was an extremely kindly man. I imagine that at one time or another, in one way or another, he extended the hand of friendliness or helpfulness to every Member of this House, irrespective of party, region, race, religion, or creed.

I always marveled at how he managed to find time, in the course of a busy day during which the burdens of state bore down on him, to do so many things for so many people.

Another eternal testimony to the greatness of this man is the fact that not one person can say that SAM RAYBURN ever failed to live up to a promise or to a commitment. His word was truly his bond. He would no more think of going back on his word than he would of telling an untruth—and the whole world knows that he was a scrupulously honest man. He was indeed the gentleman from Texas.

SAM RAYBURN was a great American. His love of country, and his devotion to the principles and ideals upon which this Nation was built, was the great force which sustained him during the many years that he played a prominent role in world affairs. He was a great patriot.

When the history of the period during which SAM RAYBURN lived and served his country so faithfully and honorably is written, the name of this great man will be set down in large type, for he was a man who helped create that history and helped shape the course of world events. Without his strong, unyielding hand at the helm of this House, during times of great stress and great peril to the Nation, the course of history could very well have been altered.

I join all of my colleagues, today, in paying tribute to this great man—to this great legislator, whose love of the House was surpassed only by his love for his Nation—to this great patriot—to this great American—to my friend, SAM RAYBURN.

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join my many colleagues in the House of Representatives who are today paying tribute to the memory of the greatest Speaker the House of Representatives has known, certainly in this generation, the late Honorable Mr. SAM. It is with a sad heart that we today pay tribute to his memory, and again give recognition to the magnificent statesmanship of one of the great leaders of history. Mr. SAM served in the highest position in the House of Representatives, the third ranking man in the U.S. Government, for more than twice as long as the longest service of any Speaker who preceded him.

The record of Speaker SAM RAYBURN has been reviewed today in great detail by those who have preceded me. However, as a Tennessean, and as one who represents a section of Tennessee not too far removed from the birthplace of SAM RAYBURN, it is my special honor to refer here again to the fact that we Tennesseans claimed SAM RAYBURN as one of our own. As was true of so many of the great leaders from Texas, SAM RAYBURN had his roots in the State of Tennessee. He, therefore, joins other great illustrious Texans such as Sam Houston and David Crockett in assuming his place in history as one who first came from the State of Tennessee and then became a national leader from the State of Texas.

Numerous comments have been made concerning SAM RAYBURN as a statesman and a patriot. I join in all those comments. I am confident that no one has surpassed the devotion of SAM RAYBURN to our great Nation. We know SAM RAYBURN was a simple man, and a man of great personal dignity. Mr. SAM would have been the first to disagree if anyone would have charged him with being perfect. He had human limitations, human likes and dislikes, just as everyone else, but I believe he came as near to being the perfect Speaker of the House of Representatives as we may know in this generation. He had remarkable sense of timing and above all an acute sense of good judgment with respect to the pulse of the Nation and the readiness or receptiveness of the Nation to legislative enactment of various kinds.

I have no doubt that Sam Rayburn, in the judgment of future historians, will be deemed to have been one of the truly great men of this century.

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Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, I think most Members of Congress feel as I do about the qualities in men which give them the capability for leadership. Personally, I regard leadership as one of the most admirable traits in a human being, particularly when that leadership involves the responsibility for the justice, security, and safety of millions of other human beings. When I think of the word "leadership," the name of one man immediately flashes into my mind: the Honorable Sam Rayburn.

Like many others in this Chamber, the first impressions I had upon entering the Congress of the United States included the feeling of competence which Mr. Sam inspired in all Members, from the newest freshmen to the most seasoned veterans. The Speaker's calmness and confidence was a reassuring influence upon most new Members during their early days of adjustment within the Nation's senior lawmaking body. One could not help but feel that Congress, even America itself, was in capable hands. While observing the great leader as he directed the flow of Congress important tasks, I invariably absorbed the Speaker's own confidence.

Sam Rayburn administered his duties as Speaker with dignity and fairness, in spite of the vast power of his position. He demonstrated his impartial wisdom each time he dealt with the minority. I have heard and read innumerable tributes to his fairness by Members of Congress whose political party was opposite that of our late Speaker.

I am sure that I will always associate the name of Sam Rayburn with leadership because he has been a living symbol of authority throughout my 18 years in Congress. The Rayburn image has symbolized authority with justice, not tyranny with power. That image will remain within the Halls of Congress far beyond the half century of his actual physical presence.

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Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, the passing of the Honorable SAM RAYBURN, the beloved Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, known throughout the land as Mr. SAM and Mr. Democrat has touched me deeply. It has been my privilege to have known SAM RAYBURN since 1941 when I first came to Washington as a secretary to Congressman Ross Rizley, of Oklahoma. Throughout all these years we have been warm personal friends.

Mr. SAM served in his position of leadership twice as long as any other man in the history of our Nation. He accepted the sacred trust of the second most powerful office in the land with a profound sense of duty and responsibility. He loved the House of Representatives and was always proud of his membership in it. This great American was always dedicated to our representative form of government and with his passing the country suffers the loss of a great soldier and patriot.

SAM RAYBURN lived by the rules of reasonableness and fair-mindedness. I have always been impressed by his fairness, reasonableness, courtesy, and helpfulness. He has always been accessible to every Member of the House, whether they were of the majority or minority party.

Our Mr. SAM has indeed left his mark on all of us who have known and loved him. Texas can well be proud of one of her truly great sons who has gone home to stay.

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Mr. WICKERSHAM. Mr. Speaker, it is in the spirit of highest tribute that we hereby commit to our generation and to posterity the history of the life and leadership of a truly great man, SAM RAYBURN. All of us feel that we have lost a brother and friend.

Last fall while I was in Europe, leaders and citizens from Turkey, Greece, Great Britain, Spain, France, Italy, Switzerland, and West Germany were inquiring with sincere interest about our Mr. SAM's condition.

This interest, this genuine concern, speaks more clearly than our heartfelt eulogies. For a simple man from Bonham, Tex., to be recognized by our friends not only here in the United States but also over the world is the supreme tribute.

Words said here will be but echos of the strength of character, the intellect, and the will of the greatest legislator, and one of the great Americans of the 20th century.

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Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the group which began service in the House of Representatives under SAM RAYBURN was large, and I am one of them. All in this group are grateful to him for his guidance, advice, and admonitions. His activities are now so much a legend that we salute this afternoon one who needs no salute, the 43d Speaker of the House of Representives. SAM RAYBURN is gone—and gone with him is part of our hearts and part of the hearts of the citizens of our country.

Fifty-four years of public service—48 years as a Member of this House and 17 years of service as Speaker—longer than any Speaker in the history of the House.

Some knew him for decades—others of us for only a few years. Countless thousands knew him for just a moment or two, and millions knew him only via the communications networks, but all knew him as a friend; a friend of the Constitution, a friend of fair play, a friend of loyalty and of progress and of devotion to his America. Those millions are the silent millions who join us in our salute to one who needs no salute—one who will always occupy an important and favorable place in history—SAM RAYBURN, the 43d Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, from time to time all of us experience the sorrow that accompanies the loss of a friend. From time to time the Nation has to adjust to the loss of a great leader. I doubt whether the death of any one great national figure was ever accompanied by the feeling of sorrow and deep personal loss on the part of so very many individuals as that which was caused by the passing of the great Speaker RAYBURN.

As a freshman member of this body 15 years ago, when Mr. SAM was serving briefly as minority leader, I learned the warmth of his friendship and the magnetism of his personality. My immediate respect for his knowledge, experience and leadership developed into an ever increasing appreciation for the privilege which was mine, of serving and associating with him. I share with my colleagues in the House not only the sorrow caused by the death of our outstanding leader and statesman, but also the loss of a kind and helpful personal friend.

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Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, our late Speaker, the beloved Mr. SAM, was a man whose sterling qualities are so well known to the American people that no words of eluogy can add to the great stature he earned in his long career of service to the people of his country.

If we may be forgiven for a personal reference, we would observe that coming to the Congress to fill an unexpired term shortly after the commencement of the 86th Congress it was our high honor to be given the oath of office in the well of the House by our late Speaker, which was followed by an enjoyable visit in his office. During the year that followed, we discovered that his birthday, January 6, was the same as that of our only daughter, Mary Patricia Randall, and the discovery of another fact brought even greater pleasure when it was found the late Speaker was born out in his native Texas on exactly the same day, January 6, 1882, that my father-in-law, Patrick J. Layden, was born in County Clare, Ireland. Accordingly, January 6 for the last few years has become a day of added significance in our family, knowing we celebrated not only two birthdays of our own, but had the feeling we were just a little bit closer to our late Speaker, knowing that we were also observing the birth date of one of America's greatest statesmen.

Mr. RAYBURN's greatest achievement was that he was a leader of men, a proven leader for years and years of his colleagues in the House of Representatives. This was a quality that radiated from his person, once you met him face to face, in spite of his quiet and reserved nature. He will be greatly missed even by the thousands and thousands of those in this country who never had the privilege to know the man personally. But think for a moment of the great privilege we, the Members of this House who served under his leadership, have enjoyed, and the very great experience to know the man personally. I feel certain all Members of the House regarded it as a high honor to have served as a fellow Member with Mr. SAM as our Speaker. He was a true friend to every Member and always ready and willing to listen to the special problems of each of his fellow Members.

If one had to portray the man in the very few words contained within one breath it would be to say he was a real friend and a great statesman.

His friendship can, of course, be known only to those who were personally acquainted with the man and had the great honor to enjoy that friendship. His statesmanship, the other outstanding characteristic of his makeup, was evident to all of the great American public who have lived under the Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy administrations. While this statesmanship is best known to those who are careful students of government and to those who are close observers of the American scene, the entire public has well fixed in its mind the image of the late Speaker as a great statesman. But what is probably more important is that his stature as a statesman will grow in future years in the minds of those who study by review the significant years the House of Representatives was under his leadership. It will be the lot of but very few men to leave an imprint on the pages of our country's history as large as our beloved Sam Rayburn.

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Mr. RAINS. Mr. Speaker, it is one of the inscrutable mysteries, if not lamentable tragedies of life that when a man reaches the zenith of his knowledge, wisdom, power and influence, "that he is cut down" and is returned to his mother earth.

Such is true of Speaker Rayburn.

It is safe to say, I believe, that no man in America was possessed of as much knowledge, wisdom and understanding of the intricate problems of Government, of statecraft and statesmanship as was our departed leader.

His death marked the end of an era. Other than Winston Churchill he is the last of the great statesmen of the era of Roosevelt.

For me to recount here his achievements for the benefit of the American people is to record practically all of the good legislation which has been enacted by the Congress of the United States in the last 35 to 40 years.

During all the years that I knew Speaker Rayburn, he lived and moved in a realm of greatness—a world leader, beloved by the people of our country, and yet with all he was a simple, unassuming, unpretentious person.

Along with many of my colleagues, I attended his funeral in his beloved small hometown of Bonham, Tex. I saw the thousands gathered to pay their last tribute of respect to their neighbor, their friend and the great statesman. I was impressed with the sorrow and sadness evident on the face of young and old among his friends, and neighbors. I was impressed also with the evidence of gratitude and devotion to the man who had for so long been their friend and the Nation's legislative leader.

Sam Rayburn had a fierce pride in his origins and in the thousands of Texans like him whose roots were actually in other Southern States. Himself a native of Tennessee, he shared with such early pioneers of Texas independence as Sam Houston and Davy Crockett a type of frontier courage rarely seen in politics and which, when dramatized as it was in SAM RAYBURN's career, can inspire a whole nation.

I recall a speech he made last spring at a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner in North Carolina.

"My feeling for the people of North Carolina is almost a family feeling," SAM RAYBURN said. "Much of my native State of Tennessee was populated by brave and restless North Carolinians who poured over the mountains to push back the wilderness and to start a new life. A few of those people and tens of thousands of their descendants went on to Texas, the State where I have lived and which has been so fine and kind to me. You and I come from the same kind of stock."

The kind of stock to which our late Speaker referred is the kind of stock which defended the Alamo to the last man and who are so well depicted in a new book by Walter Lord entitled "A Time To Stand." Here we see the kind of stock which SAM RAYBURN came from and which was always a source of pride to him. The brave South Carolinian, James Butler Bonham, the determined and proud William Travis, from my own State of Alabama, the homespun sharpshooter, Davy Crockett, from the Tennessee mountains, these and many lesser known heroes possessed one bond in common but it was of such a power as to transcend all other things they might have shared. It was the will to achieve liberty, whatever the price.

Thus was the heritage of SAM RAYBURN. Over the decades that he served in Congress he transmitted that heritage greater than it was when he received it. This is the legacy that he bequeathed to the Congress and to the American people.

Last March SAM RAYBURN participated in the Lincoln inaugural commemoration program here on the steps of the Capitol. On that occasion he said, "As a son of a Confederate soldier, who did what he thought was right, I say for him and for myself that after that was over he was proud our great Union was preserved."

Today I say that our Nation is stronger because SAM RAYBURN has been here and because he knew when it was "a time to stand."

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Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to have been able to serve in these Halls with the beloved Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, SAM RAYBURN.

SAM RAYBURN was more than just the Speaker of the House; he was the guide and guardian of every individual Member who served in this great body. He was always willing and anxious to help a new Member with sound and practical advice.

Mr. SAM's impartiality, integrity, and outstanding parliamentary skill in presiding over the House of Representatives enhanced the dignity and traditions of the speakership.

Mr. RAYBURN was a man of remarkable intellect, and my colleagues will agree that he had a distinguished career in the House.

Our Nation has indeed suffered a great loss, and in these times we can ill afford to lose men of the caliber of SAM RAYBURN.

I was saddened by his death, but there is some degree of solace in recalling that America is better for having had his high and dedicated services through the years.

History has already recorded Mr. SAM's accomplishments, and the historians will have much to add to this unique record.

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Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, in the path of the many great tributes paid to the late SAM RAYBURN, my remarks as to my high esteem for him will sound extremely ordinary and perhaps commonplace. Mr. SAM was a great man—a leader among leaders, a giant among giants, but to my judgment the source of strength for this greatness was his keen interest and sympathy for every individual with whom he came in contact. He was great because he was Mr. SAM to everybody. To him the ordinary and commonplace were the source of solution to every problem. What anyone believed or felt, regardless of his station or pursuit in life, was important. To these things I can give personal testimony. Upon the many occasions as a freshman Congressman when I needed help and direction, in Mr. SAM I not only found an interested listener to details but also active assistance. What I am saying is not news to you, my colleagues, who have had the same experience but it is fitting, I think, that the record show that Speaker RAYBURN was the friend of everyone who was privileged to come in contact with him.

He has made a great contribution to this body, this State, and the Nation. He rose to great heights of power and prestige but his feet were always on the ground, his ear tuned to his associates, and his heart to the needs of his fellow men.

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Mr. SAUND. Mr. Speaker, Mr. SAM was a truly great and good man. He was one of the best friends I have had in life.

I shall never forget the advice he gave to the group of freshman Congressmen in 1957. He gave us encouragement when he said "your colleagues in Congress will do everything they can to keep you here if you will let them." Then he urged upon each one of us the necessity of our presence in the House of Representatives in order to learn the rules of the House. He said there was no other way.

He taught me the lessons of humility and perseverance. I recall how he came to sit next to me several times, put his arm around my shoulders and said "Judge, if you need any help, you know where to come." I appreciated that highly and I do not remember an occasion when he did not give me wise counsel and valuable assistance in connection with my duties.

He was a great leader. The people of the United States will miss him as one of the greatest patriots and most dedicated servants who ever lived in these United States of America. May God bless his soul.

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Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, we can add little today to embellish the monumental record of public service which our late beloved Speaker, SAM RAYBURN made during his lifetime here in the House of Representatives. Each of us who were privileged to serve with him during a part of his long service to our Nation recall his tireless devotion to the national good, his strict code of personal conduct and its wholesome effect on all Members, the fairness which he uniformly applied as Speaker to parliamentary situations regardless of party, the persuasive magnetism of his personality, and his deep and abiding love for the Members of this body and its historic traditions.

In a large sense, the life of SAM RAYBURN from his humble beginnings throughout his record 48 years of service here in the House, is symbolic of the modern history of our Nation. SAM RAYBURN has had a leading role in the progress made by our country during the past 50 years. As he used to put it, he served "with" the last eight Presidents—from Woodrow Wilson through John F. Kennedy, serving as Speaker twice as long as any other person in our history. During this period, our country rose to its present position of world leadership, from the horse and buggy era to the nuclear age, our modern industrial system was developed, our population has mushroomed, and our greatest era of social progress has taken place.

He bore the pain of his fatal illness with the same courage which marked his career as a legislator. Uncomplaining, he devoted his few remaining months of life to the enactment of important parts of President Kennedy's legislative program in which Mr. SAM believed so strongly. The key role which he played in the enactment of New Deal reform legislation as committee chairman during the Roosevelt administration is a matter of history. As Speaker during the crucial period of World War II, and later during the Truman administration, he was a tower of strength and an outstanding example of responsible legislative leadership for his colleagues in the Congress.

SAM RAYBURN's personal attributes are well known to us all. Friendly and sympathetic to our problems as legislators, he also possessed a reserved dignity and rare human quality which set him apart as a true leader, and which inspired the Members of this body. The genuine affection and respect which he commanded on both sides of the aisle is the mark of this man of the people.

We have lost a good friend, a national and world leader, and a man whom we all loved. SAM RAYBURN's place in history is secure. It is up to us to fulfill the legacy of devotion to the national interest which, by example, he has taught us. This is the monument which we can all help erect to the goodness and greatness of this outstanding American.

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Mr. ALFORD. Mr. Speaker, it is with a very heavy heart that I rise here today to pay my final respects to our great departed leader and my beloved friend, SAM RAYBURN.

Despite the short time we were associated as contrasted to so many of my colleagues, I came to count Mr. SAM as one of my best friends because of the warmth with which he welcomed me to the Halls of the House of Representatives and because of the wisdom with which he advised me each time I sought his counsel.

Meaning no disrespect to our present distinguished Speaker, this House will long suffer for the towering strength of Mr. RAYBURN's leadership. We will miss the kindly patience of this great man. We will miss his understanding of the problems that are so common to all of us.

Speaker RAYBURN was a molder of men. Many of us stand taller in stature today because we walked with him and talked with him and were counseled by him.

Mr. RAYBURN loved my native State of Arkansas, probably next to his own Texas, and visited with us each time an opportunity presented itself. I recall that on the last occasion of his visit to our State, he put his arm around my shoulder in a fatherly way, and gave me his observations on the political facts of life. This was the type of thing that endeared him to all of us.

Yes, we will miss our beloved late Speaker for many years to come. We will walk in sadness because he is gone.

There is no replacement for our beloved Mr. SAM.

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Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, sorrow is one of the least articulate of human emotions. On November 16, 1961, our country lost a great man and I lost a living inspiration. Speaker SAM RAYBURN has left us and left a great void in our hearts and in our Chamber.

In 1957 when I came to Congress I heard SAM RAYBURN speak for the first time in the Democratic caucus. I said to myself inwardly that while SAM RAYBURN and men like him live, our country will be safe and will survive. Time has strengthened that feeling and that impression. With every passing session I marveled at the patience of the man, the uncanny ability to find the solution to a knotty problem, the depth of knowledge, the inspirational quality of his voice, the equality of presentation of foreign dignitaries, the mastery of the situation, whether in joint or in House session, and his eternal and meaningful expression, "I thank you from the bottom of a grateful heart."

I shall never forget his words of encouragement and praise to me after my maiden debate in the House of Representatives on a deeply controversial issue. When he patted me on the back in a fatherly fashion and said, "Well done, Saint. Keep it up." In times of distress when I had a problem and approached him, he was affable and encouraging. Many men knew him better than I, but none admired him more. Just as he said to me in his last conversation that he was honored to be associated with me, I say that it was an honor to have known him, to have talked to him, and to have been in his presence. The honor of association was more mine than his. I was proud and glad to follow his leadership.

Speaker SAM RAYBURN has made an indelible impression on me in these past 5 years. His impression on the country and the world is far greater. His length of service as Speaker has created a record, but his deeds and inspiration are more permanent. They live in the hearts and minds of not only his colleagues, but also of the American people and the world. About the time most of us were reaching our first milestone in our educational career, SAM RAYBURN was already guiding the destiny of our country in the House of Representatives. When the clarion voice of Franklin D. Roosevelt called upon the American people to cast aside fear, SAM RAYBURN was guiding the social legislation of the first 100 days of the New Deal. The American farmers who enjoy lights on the farms know that his vision, the rural electrification program, has made their lives more tolerable, their nights more pleasant, their cares less burdensome. When Winston Churchill asked us for tools so that England might win the war, SAM RAYBURN, with only a few men, was already working to end the war by development of the greatest and most devastating instrument of all—the atomic bomb. His leadership saw to it that after the war was over, atomic resources were harnessed and utilized for the benefit of all mankind. Through three world wars and countless crises under eight Presidents, SAMUEL TALIAFERIA RAYBURN stood firm as the Rock of Gibraltar against fortuitous change, against storm and accident.

His greatest moment which demonstrated his regard for our Government of three separate departments came when he refused the nomination in a sure election as Vice President, running with Franklin Roosevelt. His paraphrasing of the words of Henry Clay also shall endure, "I'd rather be Speaker of the House than Vice President of the United States." The House was to him a coordinate branch of Government and not the lower House. He pointed out that membership in the House of Representatives could never come by appointment, but only by election. Our President, John F. Kennedy, has lost an inspirational adviser, who possessed the wisdom of the years, a dedicated love for our country, and the ability to protect it. Texas has lost its greatest son. Our Nation has lost the greatest Speaker of all times. The world has lost a truly noble man.

I extend my sympathy to his sister, and his family on their loss, but yet he lives. He lives in the hearts and minds of all. He shall always be "the Bonhomme from Bonham."

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Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, there rarely has been a time in the history of the Congress, indeed in the history of our Nation, when the death of one of our country's legislators has occasioned such a sense of personal loss as the passing of our beloved Speaker, the late SAM RAYBURN.

Those of us who were privileged to associate with him in determining the course of our national affairs are deprived of our faithful counselor, to whom we have all turned for the fruit of his wisdom and for the inspiration of his indomitable spirit. I, personally, shall be forever deeply indebted to Speaker RAYBURN for his understanding guidance to me in my first term in the House of Representatives.

Both here and abroad people from all walks of life are dispossessed of a friend whose heart encompassed all of humanity, who walked in humility among the lowliest, and towered among the giants.

Still, in our sorrow we are blessed by the memory of this devoted servant of God, of country, and of his fellow men.

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Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, a great and honorable man has passed this way.

Such is my epitaph to the late and venerable Speaker, who has left this Chamber, never to return.

It was my distinct privilege to personally know Mr. SAM for the past 16 years. He has left upon me an indelible impression that time will not erase. He has also left to posterity a distinguished and exemplary record of dedication to the highest principles of good government, and implemented these principles by devotion to progressive legislation that benefited the common people, who are the Government.

In addition to his record for longevity as Speaker of this House, Mr. SAM was a man of great fortitude. He recognized a friend and never flinched from an aggressive enemy in the heat of parliamentary battle. Withal, he was a humble man, despite the many honors bestowed on him.

He was never too busy to discuss a controversial issue with the experienced opposition, nor to give counsel to the new Member who trod into his Chamber with trepidation aforethought.

We, who knew and loved him, were well aware that beneath that crusty shell and salty manner lay a heart of great benevolence, that bespoke of human kindness and understanding of the many problems that beset us all.

Mr. SAM was one of the pioneers of liberal legislation that spoke for the many. His accomplishments will survive his memory on the statute books and history will record his works in this field.

Mr. Speaker, may I conclude my thoughts with an inspiration:

A man is as great as the dream he dreams;
  As great as the love he bears;
As great as the values he redeems;
  And the happiness he shares.

A man is as great as the thoughts he thinks;
  As the worth he has attained;
As the fountains at which his spirit drinks,
  And the insight he has gained.

A man is as great as the truth he speaks;
  As great as the help he gives;
As great as the destiny he seeks;
  As great as the life he lives.

That was Mr. SAM.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, most of my service in the House of Representatives until this session has been during the tenure of the Honorable SAM RAYBURN as Speaker of this great body.

The saga of Speaker RAYBURN has been an inspiration to all who have had the honor and privilege of serving with him. His life and career exemplify in the finest way what our American heritage can mean to all of us. Born in Roane County, Tenn., January 6, 1882, of poor farm parents who moved to another farm in Texas during his early childhood, SAM RAYBURN secured his education by working his way through East Texas Normal School, sweeping floors and doing odd jobs for his room and board. He later attended what is now East Texas State College and subsequently won a law degree at the University of Texas.

SAM RAYBURN was elected to the Texas House of Representatives at 24 and became the youngest speaker in the history of the Texas Legislature at the age of 29. When 30 years old, in 1912, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. The same genius for hard work and perseverance which enabled him to gain his education and win promotion in the State legislature, characterized his activities in the Congress. He rose to the chairmanship of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and attained recognition as a distinguished legislator. Mr. SAM, as he was affectionately referred to by his host of friends, became the Democratic leader January 4, 1937, and he was the natural selection for the post of Speaker when he became the 42d Member to hold that high office on September 16, 1940, retaining it more than twice as long as Henry Clay, the previous recordholder.

I have cited these high points in Mr. SAM's great career as illustrative of the opportunities available to us as Americans if we apply ourselves as diligently and persistently as he did in the discharge of his responsibilities.

Early in my own service in the House I came to esteem, admire, and like Mr. SAM. I learned to esteem him for his fairness and impartiality, to admire him for his great ability, and to like him for his constructive use of his talents to promote the well-being of his fellow Americans. I am proud to number myself among those who cherish the memory of a strong and mutual friendship with this great American. Our Nation is blessed when men like SAM RAYBURN hold high public office. They are the men who get the job done. They are the men who make democracy work and a nation which can produce men like Mr. SAM will always maintain greatness.

SAM RAYBURN passed on in his 49th year of continuous membership in the House of Representatives, having devoted more than half a century to public service. It was my privilege often to see him in action when he would take the floor to use his powerfully persuasive oratory to help in the passage of important legislation. He was a man profoundly versed in American history and political lore. Although a stanch Democrat, he had that all-pervading spirit of fairness which led him to express admiration and sincere regard for leaders of the other party, and on matters relating to foreign affairs he was the leader of those who insisted that "politics should end at the water's edge."

Because of his tremendous contributions to the progress of our Nation, SAM RAYBURN will be recorded as one of the truly great statesmen in our history.

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Mr. CHELF. Mr. Speaker, in the spot he cherished so dearly, and which his presence adorned, in the atmosphere of love, affection, and admiration which abounds here for him, I rise to add my tribute to our late, beloved Speaker, the Honorable SAM RAYBURN.

The accolades of praise to him are, and ever shall be, abundant. Mr. SAM was an outstanding man who was a Member of Congress longer than any other person. He served as Speaker far longer than any other man and twice as long as our own late, beloved Henry Clay, of Kentucky.

The evidence of his astute judgment, his sagacious counsel and the keen penetration of his insight is all around us. We, here, who were fortunate enough to serve with him, knew, and will always treasure, the value of his leadership. However, his influence and the significance of his work will continue for many years to come and, therefore, the full measure of this remarkable man cannot be known until history has had a chance to assess accurately the greatness of his service.

Somewhere beyond the sunset,
  Where loneliness never lies,
He lives in a land of glory
  Amid the blue and the gold of the skies.

Not dead to those who love him,
  But only gone before,
For he shall live with us in memory,
  And he shall forever more.

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Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in paying tribute to one of America's great men.

I shall count among the treasured experiences of my life the fact that I had the honor and privilege of a personal acquaintance with Speaker RAYBURN and served with him in this great legislative body.

I wish to be counted among those who attest to his great leadership and his warmth of heart and abundant kindness, these being based on his personal interest in the Members of this House.

Speaker RAYBURN's passing was a great loss to our country, prompting mourning the length and breadth of our land.

Mrs. McIntire joins with me in expressing our deepest sympathy to all members of the Rayburn family.

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Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay humble tribute to the memory of my friend, SAM RAYBURN.

Few men, in any walk of life, have attracted so large a share of public attention or maintained for so long, a period of equal degree of mental distinction. His death has removed from this world one of America's greatest statesmen.

Words are inadequate to fully appraise SAM RAYBURN'S tremendous capacity for loyalty—his concept of public trust was without parallel and never did he hesitate to champion a program or cause that he felt was sound and would bear fruit for those coming within its scope.

Certainly in undertaking to give his measurements, it can truly be said that, despite the countless honors and successes that came to him, Mr. RAYBURN remained always a man's man and did indeed keep the common touch. There was no littleness in the man but rather patience, tolerance, and goodness that worked as though a magnet to draw to him genuine esteem and affection from all of those privileged to come within the radius of his genial influence.

Mr. Speaker, though the House of Representatives is still filled with the poignant sorrow that was created by the passing of our distinguished friend, his memory will live forever because his deeds and creed are above and beyond the word "finis."

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Mr. HARDING. Mr. Speaker, I shall always be grateful that I was elected to the Congress at a time when SAM RAYBURN was serving as Speaker of the House.

While he will mainly be remembered for the many years he was in this body and the momentous decisions in which he participated, what I will always remember about him is the great humility of this powerful leader.

Paraphrasing Kipling, it can aptly be said of SAM RAYBURN that though he walked with kings, he never lost touch with the common man.

Last year at the time the House was heaping tribute after tribute upon this great leader on the occasion of his having served as Speaker twice as long as any of his predecessors in the history of the United States, I remember wondering how he might respond to such praise.

The real measure of this man was revealed in his brief acknowledgment of these tributes—that he was serving in the House, as we were, only because the people of our districts chose to have us serve.

He never forgot this fact in his many years of public service and it was because of this loyal devotion to the people, his bigness of spirit, his rugged patriotism that he will forever remain one of our greatest Americans.

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Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, along with many of my colleagues, I consider it a rare privilege to have served in the House with former Speaker SAM RAYBURN, of Texas, known affectionately to us all as Mr. SAM. In serving his country as Speaker of the House for 17 years, more than twice as long as any of his predecessors, SAM RAYBURN earned the admiration and respect of all because of his fairness and humility in administering one of the highest offices in the land. He held the chair of Speaker with dignity and authority of command, but with never an abuse of that tremendous power. With the legislative gavel, he helped to forge some of the most important laws of the United States, and his fingerprints are on every important bill passed in the House for nearly a half century. During his long and honorable tenure, Mr. SAM saw some 3,000 Congressmen come and go and watched history being shaped as he served with eight Presidents. It seems particularly significant to me that Mr. SAM's fairness in dealing with his colleagues was never confined to party lines, and affection for him followed, on both sides of the aisle. In that trait, I feel, is contained part of his measure of greatness. One of the greatest tributes I can extend to his memory is to quote in eulogy words spoken of Mr. SAM by former President Eisenhower, who called him "A distinguished American."

SAM RAYBURN

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, America has produced many great men but it has reserved for only a few the distinction of outstanding national leadership. SAM RAYBURN was such a man. The history of 20th century America is closely intertwined with his life and his accomplishments.

SAM RAYBURN came to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1913 when this great body was 124 years old. He served continuously for 48 years—more than one-fourth of the total life of this Republic.

They were critical years—these RAYBURN years between 1913 and 1961—the Nation faced crisis after crisis including two World Wars and history's most disastrous depression. The period has been climaxed by the advent of the nuclear age coupled with the postwar Communist threat around the world.

SAM RAYBURN held a position of key leadership in the House from 1931 until his death, first as chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, then as majority leader, and since 1940 as Speaker of the House, except for two terms when he was minority leader. The RAYBURN footprints are deeply imbedded in the political and economic history of our time.

Although he came from an interior district with conservative inclinations, he always took the larger view on national issues. His support of key New Deal legislation and his support of our vital international postwar programs were in many cases the measure of their successful enactment.

From the very first speech that SAM RAYBURN delivered on the floor of the House until the day he died, his abiding passion was to bridge the differences between North, South, East, and West; to find the common denominator for national unity. He believed intensely in America and in the principles on which this Nation was founded.

SAM RAYBURN was truly a man of the people. For all his power and influence, he never lost the common touch. His door was always open and he was always ready with a helping hand. He wore his authority with great dignity but always with a touch of humility.

His introduction of Presidents and national leaders to the joint sessions of Congress will never be excelled in grace and eloquence. I can hear him say again those simple words that he so often used: "The leader of a great, friendly, and free people." When spoken by him they came alive with a depth of meaning and a feeling of national reverence not soon to be forgotten.

The House of Representatives was SAM RAYBURN's life. He gave everything he had to it. There was no divisive loyalties or conflicting efforts.

To those who served under him in the House, he was "Mr. Speaker," spoken with affection, respect, and loyalty. To millions of Americans he was "Mr. SAM," a man who sat in the seat of the mighty but for whom the word "Democrat" was spelled with a small "d" as well as a big one.

SAM RAYBURN was my friend. His death was a deep personal loss. I extend to his family and loved ones my heartfelt sympathy in their great loss.

SAM RAYBURN, however, belonged to all Americans. The greatest loss is to his countrymen and to the Nation he served so long and so well.

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Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, I join my distinguished colleagues in paying final tribute to our late Speaker, perhaps the most eminent of Americans in our time, SAM RAYBURN, of Texas.

I am also pleased to include herewith the following letter from a former Member of this body, the Honorable Byron L. Johnson, of Colorado, which speaks most eloquently of Mr. RAYBURN:

WASHINGTON, D.C., *January 18, 1962.*

The Honorable ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER,
Member of Congress.

DEAR BOB: As a former Member of the House, I count it one of the highest points of my life that I was able to serve under the distinguished leadership of Speaker SAM RAYBURN. He was without question one of the truly great patriots of our generation.

No man in our time so completely epitomizes a deep and abiding faith in the United States of America, nor a greater willingness to accomplish its great purposes. As a newcomer to the Hill, I appreciated not only his unfailing courtesy but his quiet helpfulness and wise counsel. All of us who served with him will prize all his life the many memories of our own contacts with Mr. RAYBURN.

The Nation is the poorer in ways beyond number for his loss, but I take heart in the belief that every person who came to know him was the richer for the experience.

I realize that words cannot adequately express the exceptionally high regard of the Members for Mr. SAM, but I cannot pass this day without adding a word of sincere appreciation and heartfelt tribute to one of the finest Americans ever to serve our country.

Sincerely,

BYRON L. JOHNSON,
Member of Congress (86th).

* * *

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in paying tribute to the late and beloved Speaker of the House, SAM RAYBURN, of Texas. In the passing of Speaker SAM RAYBURN our Nation suffered an irreparable loss. Serving as Speaker of the House for over twice as long as any other man in American history, SAM RAYBURN has left an indelible imprint on the life of the Republic, and has made a monumental contribution to the advancement of democracy.

During the time he served in this House, our Nation was involved in two World Wars, the country experienced a grave depression, and the Republic after the Second World War became the undisputed leader of the free world. During all of these trying years, Speaker RAYBURN was one of the most influential leaders of our Nation in the formulation of both domestic and foreign policy which has brought us to the position of responsibility and power which we hold in the world today.

SAM RAYBURN was an outstanding leader and a most distinguished statesman. He displayed extraordinary ability during the years in which he was so much a part of the House of Representatives. His impact on legislation was tremendous. His understanding, his tireless devotion to duty, and his vision enabled him to help shape wisely the course of this Nation. His impact on American history and on the course of world events is imperishable. He will be remembered and honored as long as men love liberty.

Speaker RAYBURN will be keenly missed, not only by every American but by all people everywhere who cherish freedom. His period of service in this House spans over a fourth of our national life and his unparalleled and unequaled record in helping to make the United States of America what it is today is one of which we are all proud.

SAM RAYBURN was a great and a good man. I cherished his friendship and help over the years, and his passing is to me, as it is to all who knew him, a great personal loss. We who have served with him in this House loved and admired him for his great qualities of fairness, of friendship, of helpfulness, and of understanding. He had a keen interest in every Member of this body and never failed to assist whenever he could do so. He loved this House and his colleagues loved him.

I consider it a great honor and a great privilege to have served under Speaker SAM RAYBURN, and any words which are said in his praise and as a tribute to his memory are feeble indeed in comparison to the monument which he has erected in the form of the work he accomplished—a monument which will stand as one of the great beacon lights in man's struggle to build a better and a finer nation and a better and finer world. Speaker RAYBURN is no longer with us physically but his spirit will guide this House in all its activities and deliberations during the years to come.

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Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride that I number myself among those who have been fortunate enough to serve in this House under our late, beloved Speaker, SAM RAYBURN. Although I am not a member of the Speaker's political party, I was nevertheless unfailingly impressed by the innate dignity of the man, by his fairness, his strength and courage of conviction, by his firm leadership.

SAM RAYBURN

The SAM RAYBURN story is the story of America. His leadership covered periods of national and international crisis, of unparalleled social progress, of endless industrial expansion, of the making of decisions that are even now historic in their impact and import. Mr. SAM, as he was affectionately and respectfully known, was often the rock upon which a shaky ship of state depended for guidance. Mr. SAM had the vision to be the architect of programs now considered necessities of life. Mr. SAM had the courage to do what he was convinced was best at all times.

He had a legendary ability to lead. He respected others' opinions, even when they were contrary to his, but he had absolute faith in the rectitude of his program.

He was a master tactician and strategist, with a rare combination of a politician's ability to sense the pulse of the people and a statesman's ability to interpret, act, and lead.

His life, his love, was the House of Representatives. He never sought other offices or high Government posts, because he believed in his House, in the mandate it carries to act as that arm of the Government closest to the people.

Mr. SAM's father was a Confederate soldier who served valiantly throughout that tragic war. The senior Rayburn fathered 11 children, and when Mr. SAM was very young, moved his family from Tennessee to Bonham, Tex. Mr. SAM was a farm boy and he never lost his love for his native land. When he was not farming, he was fond of recalling, he read everything he could find—especially books about the great men in our country's history. He was an ardent admirer of these leaders and their devotion to principle, and throughout his life, dedication to duty was his creed.

Mr. SAM once said he knew all of his life that he wanted to be Speaker of the House. Throughout his early education in a two-teacher country school, working his way through East Texas Normal, he prepared for this position. He was elected to the Texas Legislature at the age of 24. When he was 29, he was speaker of the Texas house. The next year he was elected to Congress. From there he rose rapidly, impressing all who worked with him with his perception and uncanny ability.

He was, of course, Speaker twice as long as any other man, earning for himself the permanent appellation—the Speaker.

His legislative record reads like a history of social progress and industrial growth. He was truly a man of the people. He knew their problems and their needs. As long ago as 1917, the youth RAYBURN was the House sponsor of President Wilson's War Insurance Act, a legislative milestone that created the first insurance program for servicemen, the first allotment program for their families, and the first disability payments.

Upon being sworn into the House in April of 1913, Mr. SAM was appointed to the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, rising to become ranking minority member in 1927 and chairman in 1931. He never forgot the lessons of his youth. He knew that the farm areas desperately needed electricity—hence he sponsored the Rural Electrification Act. He knew of the problems of people who were victimized by crooked stock deals and who lost life savings in the tragic days of the Wall Street crash—therefore, he sponsored the Securities and Exchange Act. To him also belongs the credit for such measures as the Federal Communications Act and the Railroad Holding Act. And, throughout the years, he was continually insistent on legislation which would protect the rights of the little men.

He became majority leader of the House in 1936 and was elected Speaker by acclamation in 1940, following the death of William Bankhead. He relinquished the Speaker's chair only twice from that date to his untimely death last fall—and then to become minority leader in the 80th and 83d Congress.

Mr. SAM was more than a man, more than a leader of men. He was a legend in his own time—one whose significant and important work, whose intrinsic greatness will stand forever as a majestic memorial to the man himself and the institution he personified.

A man like this can never die. Too much of him lives on eternally.

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Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, it is almost impossible to conceive of this House without SAM RAYBURN. It was virtually his whole life, and he served it and its Members with dignity and devotion.

I have had great affection, admiration, and respect for Speaker RAYBURN throughout the five years I was privileged to serve with him in the House, especially for his skill and for his fairness. He was kind and gracious and helpful to me as he was to so many of our colleagues on both sides of the aisle.

Some of the finest memories I have of my time in the House are of his truly inspiring remarks during the final minutes of each session, which I always stayed to hear. He addressed his words to Republicans and Democrats alike, telling us of his own deep feeling for the House and bringing home to each of us the meaning and significance of service in this great institution of representative government.

He helped make us proud to be here.

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Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, as tribute is paid today to our late Speaker, SAM RAYBURN, words fail to measure up to the fullness of the greatness that he possessed and of what history will say of him in the years ahead.

Today we are unanimous in our praise and the annals of the House of Representatives over the past 48 years are filled with the record of the courageous statesmanship, the wise counsel, and brilliant leadership of our departed Speaker. This record will live long after our words are forgotten.

Two newspapers in Speaker RAYBURN's home State very ably summarized, editorially, what we are trying to say here today. The Dallas Morning News said, "Mr. RAYBURN's career was the epitome of the practical functioning of democracy where such intangibles as loyalty, friendship, and individual persuasion shape events more surely than the oratory of a Roosevelt or a Kennedy."

The Fort Worth Star-Telegram said, "Few men have had the character to muster such understanding and courtesy in a role that required purpose and firmness."

I am glad that I had an opportunity to serve in the House of Representatives during a part of the time that Speaker RAYBURN wielded the gavel. Even though many of our political philosophies differed I learned much of parliamentary procedure by observing his skillful management of the affairs of the House.

The shadow of Mr. SAM did not end with the closing of the grave but because of his greatness it will be cast on many Congresses of the future.

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Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, it was a very sad day for our country, particularly for those of us here in the House of Representatives, when the word was flashed that our friend, Speaker SAM RAYBURN, had been called from this earth. It was not only a sad day for us on the Democratic side but it was just as sad for our Republican friends, for Mr. RAYBURN was respected, revered, and loved by everyone, irrespective of political affiliation.

Mr. RAYBURN, serving twice as long as any other Speaker of the House of Representatives, attained a place in history and in Government that probably will never be equaled by any man. During his long tenure in this high office he was eminently fair and unusually diligent. As a Speaker he was among the great.

Possessed of a warm and friendly spirit, he always welcomed Members to his office who sought his counsel and assistance. It has been my good fortune to have served in this body with him for 19 years. I frequently visited his office and on several occasions sought his assistance. In most instances he gladly accommodated. When he could not, he always made it known that his inability to do so was not personal and he would assign his reason therefor. I always departed his office with a feeling that I had had a fair hearing and that my appeal has been sympathetically received.

To have served here with Mr. SAM, as we all knew him, has been such a privilege. It has enriched my life. His friendship, which I was so pleased to have had, was greatly treasured. It seems so strange, so impossible, that he is not with us today. This House just does not seem to be the same place without him. He so indelibly impressed himself upon the people of our land and of the world, and particularly upon this House, that the ages of time will have difficulty enveloping his memory. For decades and decades to come references will be made to SAM RAYBURN and his service. And, indeed, his memory will live forever in the heart of the House of Representatives.

We mourn his passing with regret and with deep sorrow.

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Mr. WINSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues who are today paying tribute to our late Speaker, the Honorable SAM RAYBURN. Having served more than twice as long as any of his predecessors in the history of our country, Mr. SAM was recognized throughout the Nation as one of the most outstanding political figures of our time.

He was, first of all, a great American and a great believer in our system of government. He was likewise a believer in the people and once said "it is an honor to be elected to anything by the people."

While one might not have always agreed with him in legislative matters, he was nevertheless at all times courteous to his colleagues; he was friendly and willing to extend himself for the benefit of his friends. I am sure history will record Mr. SAM as one of the greatest of our great men.

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Mr. STUBBLEFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the late, great Speaker RAYBURN.

I shall not take the time of the Members to repeat the story of his great service to his congressional district, to the Congress, the Nation, the cause of democratic government, and to the cause of mankind.

I will only say that I will ever be grateful that, to use Mr. SAM'S words, it was "a high honor and distinct privilege" to serve as a Member of the House of Representatives under his leadership. I know all of us will agree that his leadership and example helped, encouraged, and guided us in our efforts to better serve the cause of freedom and government by the people, for the people, and of the people.

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Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, our Nation lost a world figure in the passing of Speaker SAM RAYBURN. Very few statesmen in the entire world were as well known as he was. Through his years in the Congress he was in touch with the leaders of every nation.

He served with Presidents Woodrow Wilson, Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and John F. Kennedy.

His career in the Congress was longer than that of any other Member, just as he was Speaker longer than any previous Speaker.

Mr. RAYBURN was a great statesman, but he was also a master politician.

He was often criticized by members of his own party because of the way he worked with President Eisenhower from 1953 to 1961 to advance the best interests of our country.

He was my friend and my teacher.

There was no meanness and no pettiness in Mr. RAYBURN. He was big like our country is big, and with him passed a pioneer America which will never return.

President Kennedy spoke for all of us on both sides of the aisle when he said of Mr. RAYBURN:

This country has lost a devoted servant and the citizens of this country an unflinching friend.

Recently I introduced legislation providing that the New House Office Building, on which construction was begun while he was Speaker, would be dedicated to him and would be named in his honor. This proposal has bipartisan support and, since you, Mr. Speaker, have approved of it, it will undoubtedly come to pass. There is no better way to keep our Nation's history alive than to name this great building in honor of Mr. RAYBURN.

Even when we disagreed on matters this did not disturb our basic friendship. I opposed the destruction of the two blocks of beautiful homes just east of the Old House Office Building, and I urged that the John Philip Sousa Home be saved from destruction and maintained as a memorial to honor Mr. Sousa, one of America's greatest composers—as other nations honor their great composers.

While we were in opposition on this matter, he was genuinely pleased that my plan was so well received by patriotic Americans throughout the country, and he took the trouble to tell me so.

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Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, in the passing of our beloved leader, SAM RAYBURN, all Americans in and out of Congress have suffered a great loss.

President Kennedy has said that while Mr. RAYBURN'S service extended from the administration of President Woodrow Wilson to nearly the end of the 87th Congress it was the quality of that service more than its length that was distinctive.

He added that Mr. RAYBURN was "a strong defender of constitutional responsibilities of the Congress, he had an instinctive understanding of the American system and was a loyal counselor and friend of Presidents of both parties on the great matters which affected our national interest and security."

The President pointed out that he had singular opportunities, as a young Congressman and as President, to appreciate Mr. RAYBURN's temperament and character. "Both were bedded in rock and remained unchanged by circumstances," said the President.

The President spoke for all of us when he said of Mr. RAYBURN:

> This country has lost a devoted servant and the citizens of this country an unflinching friend.

Mr. RAYBURN served with eight Presidents of the United States. His career in the House was longer than that of any previous Member and he was Speaker of the House longer than any of his distinguished predecessors in that post.

His life spanned the years 1882 to 1961, from the period following the Civil War through the two great World Wars to the atom bomb, the nuclear-powered submarine, and the jet airplane.

It covered the times that saw America's passage from the the frontier period of the West to that of world leader, and grow from a largely rural Nation of 50 million people to a powerful industrial and urban civilization of 180 million people.

His life covered a time of great ordeals and great achievements for our Nation, and during his active terms in the Congress he participated in all or most of them.

Mr. RAYBURN believed in States duties as well as States rights. He believed in a strong Federal Government, one that could stand up to the Fascist and Communist powers, one that could unite and lead the free nations of the world in the greatest combined power ever known to history.

But he also believed in a Federal Government that would, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, do for all the people what they could not do by themselves.

SAM RAYBURN in his political faith walked hand in hand with Presidents Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, and John F. Kennedy.

In honor of Mr. RAYBURN I have introduced a House resolution to provide that the House of Representatives Office Building which is being constructed pursuant to the provisions of the Additional House Office Building Act of 1955 shall be known as the SAM RAYBURN House Office Building.

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Mrs. PFOST. Mr. Speaker, many words have been spoken here today as a memorial to the late Speaker of the House, SAM RAYBURN. But the true monument to his greatness is the fact that America is a better place today for SAM RAYBURN having lived.

For this, the people of Idaho and of the Nation are deeply grateful.

During my years in the Congress, I came to immensely respect his integrity and judgment and his sense of fairplay. I never called on him for advice but what he was most willing and eager to help. When it came to Idaho matters, he always showed a keen interest and understanding and was quick to offer counsel and concrete help on how to get legislation affecting the State through the legislative mill.

As chairman of the 83d Club in 1953, I remember, I went to Mr. RAYBURN for advice on mapping a program of activities for new House Members. I asked him about getting speakers at club meetings, and recall him saying, "There's Jack Kennedy—now he's a bright and coming young man. He should address your group." His advice, as events have turned out, was prophetic. And Mr. Kennedy did address our club and gave a most inspiring talk.

History will judge Mr. RAYBURN as one of the great men of our day. Schoolchildren 1,000 years from now will remember his name. His footprints are, indeed, imbedded in the sands of time—for all time.

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, with my colleagues, I, too, rise to express tribute to the life and unselfish services of the late Speaker, Mr. SAM, of Texas. I know that I speak for my fellow San Franciscans and Californians in noting his contributions to the American democracy.

Mr. Speaker, SAM RAYBURN was born in Roane County, Tenn., on January 6, 1882. He was one of 11 children.

At the age of 5 he moved with his family to Texas where they settled on a farm near Bonham.

He worked his way through East Texas Normal School, teaching school a year to pay for another year of college.

Elected to the Texas Legislature when he was 24, he studied law in Austin at the University of Texas. At 29 he was chosen speaker of the Texas House, the youngest legislator ever to be so honored up to that time.

He was elected to the 63d Congress and served without interruption in the House of Representatives until his death last fall. No Member in history has ever served this long in the House.

He was elected to the 63d Congress of Representatives on September 16, 1940, and, with the exception of the Republican 80th and 83d Congresses, filled this position for the remainder of his life.

He held the speakership for longer than 17 years, more than twice as long as any other occupant of that office.

SAM RAYBURN died in his hometown of Bonham, Tex., on November 16, 1961. He was in his 80th year.

These are the basic facts about SAM RAYBURN. They are all true, but they do not begin to add up to all the truth.

They give us the picture of an exceptional man, a successful man, a man who dedicated a long life to useful public service.

But these plain facts, simply stated, cannot by themselves describe a great man, and Mr. SAM was a great man.

I know that greatness is an overworked and frequently misapplied word. But in the case of SAM RAYBURN it fits. It belongs. It comes naturally. No other word will suffice.

The qualities of greatness cannot be expressed in facts and statistics. A man's character—those elements which are exclusively his own and which differentiate him from other men—is as immeasurable as it is real and important.

Above all, SAM RAYBURN was a man of integrity. This was, perhaps, his richest source of strength as Speaker. His word was a bond. He did what he said he would do; he delivered what he promised; a trust, a confidence, was to him a sacred and inviolable thing. He was without capacity for deceit or trickery.

A profound sense of fairplay was one of his attributes that he most cherished. No finer tributes have been paid to him on this quality than those from Members who have disagreed with him politically.

It is merely a statement of the obvious to say that SAM RAYBURN was a very intelligent man. There are many intelligent men, but far rarer are those who combine with their brain power, as he did, such a wealth of commonsense and sound judgment.

Mr. Speaker, how can we place a value on his experience? What is the value of nearly half a century of service in this Chamber he loved so dearly with some 3,000 men and women who were Members of this body during this period? To what place in history do we assign a man who knew and worked closely with every President since the administration of Woodrow Wilson, a man who enjoyed the confidence and trust of many of the most important political figures in America during this century?

Because of his long tenure and his stature as Speaker, we are sometimes inclined to overlook Mr. SAM's service as a regular Member of this House.

He came into national prominence during the early days of the New Deal as chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee. In this capacity he sponsored some of the most important and enduring legislation to come out of these bleak depression years—the Securities and Exchange Act, the Federal Communications Act, the Rayburn-Wheeler Holding Company Act, and the Rural Electrification Act.

But no one can really say, nor can history ever record, how much significant legislation SAM RAYBURN was really responsible for to a greater or lesser degree.

It is the Speaker's duty to preside over the deliberations of the House of Representatives. But a really skillful Speaker—and the country has never had a better one—can and should do much more.

He can do much to clear away obstacles to legislation. He can explain the problems to other Members. He can persuade them. He can work out such compromises as are absolutely essential to the operation of democratic government.

Mr. Speaker, in performing these tasks, SAM RAYBURN was supreme. His strength lay partly in his office, of course, but those intangibles—his honesty, his experience, and the respect in which he was held—were the real sources of his power.

On June 12, 1961, the day on which Mr. SAM's tenure as Speaker had extended to twice that of any other Speaker in history, we in this House paused to extend our sincere congratulations and pay him some richly deserved tributes.

He received some letters, too, on this day. One of them read, in part:

> Attention will be called today to other records which you have equaled and exceeded to other measurable accomplishments. Immeasurable, however, is your devotion to cause and country; and immeasurable is the respect, esteem, and affection which all of us who have served with you hold for you today.

This letter was signed:

> With warmest regards and best wishes, Sincerely, John F. Kennedy.

All of us felt toward Mr. SAM the respect, esteem, and affection expressed by President Kennedy.

Today, January 18, 1962, we are aware above all of our great loss. Many of us have lost a dear personal friend. All of us have lost a great leader.

Sam Rayburn is gone, but he has left his imprint indelibly and forever upon this House.

As we mourn his passing we should also remember that our institutions of government and our ideals of democracy are stronger because of his long and faithful service to them.

I think this would be all the tribute that Sam Rayburn would ask for.

* * *

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the remembrance of Sam Rayburn in this House is an occasion neither for weeping nor for praise. Those who knew him well have wept in private. Praise comes too late to touch his ears. Rather, we are here to talk to one another—to compensate, by drawing together, for the loss of this one man, to share our thoughts about him—so that we may, even without him, carry on. We are many, but he has left us alone. We draw together, however, not only out of need; for it is also our solemn obligation to contemplate his great example, to learn from it, and to speak as those who knew him best so that all may know him well. We must speak of Sam Rayburn; we must recognize that part of him—his great service to this country—which still lives on. We have no right to be silent.

It is especially true, I think, in times as confusing as ours—when both the forces of chaos and the forces of order have reached such bewildering complexity—that a single man can fulfill himself, can achieve his purpose, only by subordinating himself to something which transcends his individuality. Sam Rayburn was not the sort of man whose achievements were personal and, therefore, as transitory as the flesh. Sam Rayburn left the speakership, the House, and indeed the Union itself, stronger than he found them. He was a southerner whose father fought the Union, yet his sense of the times was acute enough so that he himself helped to preserve the Union. He once remarked that as a Congressman:

> You have two constituencies; the people who sent you here and the colleagues with whom you must serve. You must please the people in your district if you want to stay here; and if you want

to be in a position which enables you to help and please the people of your district you must also please your colleagues in the House.

Such insight into the relationship of institutions to one another, and of people to institutions, was both the source of his power and the index of his wisdom. He insisted that the House reflect the people, and he made the people take pride in the House. During his long tenure as Speaker, he had a greater opportunity than any other man to influence the course of legislation. That he is remembered both for dignity and for humor is high praise and testimony to the manner in which he chose to exercise that influence.

"The greatest ambition a man can have," Mr. SAM once said, "is to be a just man," and it is finally, of course, the man which we must assess. But it is most significant about our late Speaker that the man and his achievement are inseparable. If justice, in an assembly based upon compromise, is the equitable balancing of diverse alternatives, Mr. SAM was a just man. Because of the balance in his own character of dignity and humility, of leadership and respect for that which is led, our House under his rule was a just House. His personal ambition was to fulfill his ambitions for the House, and he achieved it. Because he was ambitious he gave his life to us; but because his ambition was for something outside of himself, he was never selfish in attaining it. His enthusiasm was never excessive; he had no unmeasured confidence. He usurped nothing, but took his due.

The death of a man of such stature brings upon his fellows the realization of his importance. It is, however, the measure of Mr. SAM's success that we need him less exactly in proportion to his own great contribution to this House. But this is no paradox, for the House was not his. He belonged to the House. We have, then, perfect consolation—because he left it to us. Still, we grieve. Mr. Speaker, I quote the Speaker himself: "God bless his memory. God comfort his loved ones. God comfort me."

SPEAKER (HONORABLE) SAM RAYBURN

A smile of content
A smile of peace
A halo hovering
Throughout

A gentle gentleman
Now silenced—but yet
His voice resounds
A mute shout

And all who knew him
Who knew him well
Deeply felt
His quality rare

No need for him
To be made heard
That gavel alone
Spoke an eloquent word

And every gentleman
Will still thrill to that word
When again and again
It will be heard

Resounding—reverberating
Throughout the House—
His greatness and justice—
His fair play espouse

Now—from Up There
Looking down—he will see
His beloved fellow men
And forever he'll still be

Wielding that gavel
With royal command
With a prayer for America—
His beloved land.

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Mr. JENNINGS. Mr. Speaker, since his death there have been thousands of written and spoken tributes to our beloved Speaker, SAM RAYBURN. He deserves—and more—everything that has been said of his character, service, and achievements.

As one of many Members who benefited from Speaker RAYBURN's counsel and help; who admired and respected his courage and integrity; and who will count the experience of serving with him as one of the greatest opportunities of my life, I join today in these eulogies to the greatest of Speakers and an outstanding American.

These comments will be of a personal nature, because Mr. SAM became very much like a father to me during the years I have been privileged to represent the Ninth District of Virginia. It was with a deep sense of personal loss and sadness that I learned of his death; it was a sad journey to Bonham, Tex., to bid him farewell. But, and it was known from the Speaker's own words, he had reached his goal in life and was satisfied. Last June, when we paid tribute to Mr. SAM's long service as Speaker, he said:

> My career is crowned. I have achieved everything I ever hoped or desire. When I leave here I will leave without any regrets.

We in Virginia, as did all people in all of the States of the Union, reaped the benefits of Mr. SAM's diligence in promoting legislative programs for the good of all.

Our late Speaker was a Democrat without any ifs, ands, or buts. As he put it, "without prefix or suffix." Underlying this strong political affiliation, however, he was first of all an American. It was this characteristic, of a strong partisan and a stronger American, that made him beloved and respected in my district, the "Fightin' Ninth" of Virginia. We have partisans—of both political parties—in my district. And, they admired Mr. SAM for his support of party and his devotion to duty and country.

Mr. SAM came to the Ninth District back in 1954 to speak in my first campaign. He was right at home in our mountains, which are very similar to the adjoining mountains of nearby Tennessee where he was born. His help in reclaiming the district from the loyal opposition continued when I reached Washington. He offered helpful guidance, as I know he did for countless other Members of this body.

At a meeting of the Democratic 84th Club, which I headed for one term, he outlined his personal philosophy and stated some of the principles that made him revered in the eyes of his colleagues and his countrymen. Among them were the admonition to: work hard; listen; do not talk too much; learn the House rules; know and master the issues; and know when to follow party leadership.

"The way to get along is to go along," he reiterated.

And, every Member of this body remembers his advice on truth and honesty:

> There is no degree of honesty. * * * You don't have to take back something you never said. * * * If you tell the truth the first time, you don't have to remember.

Speaker SAM's first speech in the House, back in 1913, included a statement of goals for every new Congressman. In the course of his remarks, he said:

> It is now my sole purpose here to help enact such wise and just laws that our common country will by virtue of these laws be a happier and a more prosperous country. I have always dreamed of a country which I believe this should be and will be, one in which the citizenship is an educated and patriotic people, not swayed by passion or prejudice, and a country that shall know no East, no West, no North, no South, but inhabited by a people liberty loving, patriotic, happy and prosperous, with lawmakers having no other purpose than to write such laws as shall in the years to come be of service to humankind yet unborn.

We, as a nation, could pay no finer tribute to Mr. SAM than to continue striving for these goals.

Back in 1955, soon after coming to the Congress, I made some remarks titled, "Thanks, Mr. SAM." I wish to repeat these today:

THANKS, MR. SAM

> Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include a summation of the thoughts I have had as a freshman Member of the House about the Honorable SAM RAYBURN, who has been Speaker of the House longer than any other man in the history of the United States.
>
> Speaker RAYBURN was honored by the members of his party last weekend, and these honors, plus the fact that I have had great

respect for our beloved Speaker over the past several years, have moved me to write down some observations which I occasionally pass along to constituents in conversation and by letter.

As a young man in southwest Virginia, which borders east Tennessee, where our Speaker was born, I often heard of Mr. Sam from Hon. John W. Flannagan, who served the Virginia Ninth District for many years in the House, and later from Hon. Tom B. Fugate, who followed Mr. Flannagan as the ninth district Representative. They spoke of Mr. Sam with praise in every respect.

Later, when I started my campaign for Congress, numerous citizens came to me and said, in essence, "You see Mr. Sam when you get to Congress and he will help you out." Those friends of mine, who had followed our Speaker's illustrious career through the years, were absolutely correct in their advice.

Even before I was elected, Mr. Sam came to my district and made a speech, met many of the citizens who have been his supporters over the past years, and discussed with them the phases of Government which were of interest.

I have found in the short time that I have been a member of this great representative assembly that our Speaker serves in his high position wtih dignity, calmness, and ability in every respect. He is a statesman with the qualifications of wisdom, patriotism, and devotion to duty. He uses wisely and effectively the powers of the high and honorable office he occupies.

I have already learned to love and respect him as one of the greatest Americans I have ever known.

This brief but sincere tribute cannot be ended without mention of his help and fatherly advice which he readily gives to the newcomer to Congress. On several occasions I, as I am certain many other freshmen have in the past, turned to him for counsel and guidance. He has never been too busy to discuss problems with me nor to give me the benefit of his many years of experience in the House.

So, Mr. Sam, I say "thank you" for your aid in the past. I express the wishes of hundreds of my constituents when I wish for you many more years of service in the House. You have our love, our respect, and our heartfelt thanks for your great contributions to the welfare of this Nation through the past years.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, I recall that one newspaper editor said of Mr. Sam's service:

> The greatest tribute that can be paid to Speaker Sam Rayburn is to be found in the realization all over this land of the large vacuum in the U.S. Government that his passing has created.

The people of this Nation, in whom Speaker SAM RAYBURN had unshakable faith, would endorse every tribute spoken here today.

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Mr. BASS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, to define the term "greatness" in American history and politics, one would only have to mention the name of our late, beloved Speaker, SAM RAYBURN.

If man could be compared to the giant, sturdy oak that grows on the rolling hillsides of Tennessee, we would have had, in Speaker RAYBURN, the tallest, most imposing giant of all that ever sprang forth from our State.

Tennessee has had many native sons who have reached the summit of public life, but none of whom she can be more proud than SAM RAYBURN, who left the Volunteer State at an early age to bring honor also to the Lone Star State of Texas.

My friend and leader, for whom I had the highest esteem, was, at the time of his death, rounding out 56 years of legislative service to his State and Nation, having served 6 years in the Texas Legislature, including being speaker of its house before being elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1912. He served in the U.S. House of Representatives longer than any other person in the history of our country. He served as chairman of legislative committees, Majority and Minority Leader of the House and served as Speaker twice as long as any other man.

He occupied that exalted position until his untimely death, as well as being second in line of succession to the Presidency of the United States.

It would be possible to continue for hours, citing the records this great man set in public life. But to do justice to his memory and the history of his achievement, one must go well beyond the realm of longevity.

Few men become legends during their own lifetime; but, through outstanding service and leadership, during two tragic World Wars, the Korean conflict and countless international crises, he became a legend in world affairs.

As a great legislator and leader during the early and formative years of the Franklin Roosevelt administration, which lifted this Nation from the bottomless pits of economic chaos, he became a legend in domestic affairs.

As the sponsor and father of Rural Electrification Administration, he became a legend in the most remote rural sections of America.

The love, admiration, and respect of the American people for this man was legendary, but I think it was never more exemplified than in the past 7 years; for, during that time, when the then occupant of the White House was receiving the greatest majorities of all time in being elected President, the American people sent to Congress a Democratic majority to work under the tutelage and leadership of our late Speaker. This is another record which also made him a legend with his colleagues and in legislative circles throughout the world.

My personal love, admiration, and respect for this man was so great that I thank God for the privilege of having been one of his contemporaries in the hallowed Halls of Congress.

My confidence in his ability and leadership was so great that I thank God for having this man to steer my course in the Congress. Yes, I knew when I was following the course of our late Speaker, I was going in the right direction—yes, we in Congress knew when Mr. SAM daily rapped his gavel for order at high noon, that the greatest deliberative body in the world was in the most capable hands available for the difficult task of Speaker and presiding officer.

Using the words that I have so often heard him use in presenting the great leaders of the world to the Congress—"I deem it a great privilege and a high honor" to have been a friend of Mr. Democrat, Mr. America, Mr. SAM, the Honorable SAM RAYBURN, of Texas, former Speaker of the House of Representatives.

On behalf of the people of Tennessee, and particularly the citizens of the Sixth Congressional District, I express our deepest sympathy to the late SAM RAYBURN's beloved family.

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Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, SAM RAYBURN had already been a Member of this body 3 years when I was born. Eleven years ago, when I first met him I was naturally impressed. He was an inspiration to all, but particularly to those who knew him. The world is a better place because there was a SAM RAYBURN. He was not an ordinary man.

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Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, so many words have been spoken of the great life and achievements of our late, beloved Speaker SAM RAYBURN that it is difficult for me to add to them.

Let me only say that like the other Members of this House, I miss him too, and am grateful for having had the opportunity of serving here with him, and of catching from him some of the sense of dignity, some of the inspiration, and some of the dedication to the public good that his long and distinguished service in this House so aptly represented.

I had the privilege of first knowing Speaker RAYBURN back in 1941 when I was a secretary to a Member of this House. What a thrill it was for me to come back here in 1959 as a Member myself and have the opportunity of serving again under this great man who had become himself a tradition in our national life.

But for all of his eminence, SAM RAYBURN never lost the common touch. He was never too busy to spare a moment to advise a new Member. I am sure all of us when we first come to Congress feel something akin to awe about the Speaker of the House. But SAM RAYBURN's outwardly gruff exterior covered a warm and understanding heart, and I shall always be deeply grateful to him for the help and consideration he gave to me, as he did to so many others.

SAM RAYBURN will be deeply missed, not only by this House, but by the people of the whole Nation. We can take comfort in his life of service and in his dedication, and we can be proud of this great example of the finest in our American tradition. For SAM RAYBURN was indeed America at its finest.

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Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, the passing of Speaker RAYBURN deeply touched every Member of the House and brought to all of us profound feelings of grief and sorrow for the loss of such a dear, beloved colleague, outstanding Member of the House for almost 50 years and famed Speaker who held that exalted office longer than any man in the history of American parliamentary institutions.

The Nation and the world joined in mourning the passing of this illustrious legislative leader and truly great American, who was known and honored throughout the length and breadth of the land and throughout the world for his enduring contributions to free government and the cause of the common people.

Speaker RAYBURN played a leading role in one of the greatest chapters of American history—a period which covered two great World Wars, the bloody Korean conflict, economic depressions, fabulous growth and unparalleled national advancement in every field.

Confidant and adviser to the Presidents of his time, wise, and sagacious in the ways of statescraft and parliamentary procedures, devoted to human progress, international peace and order, peerless interpreter of the rules of the House, noted for his fairness and impartiality, renowned for his loyalty to party, country, and God, profoundly entrenched in the affections of his friends, colleagues and the people, Mr. SAM's career indelibly marked him as one of the greatest political and parliamentary leaders this Nation has ever known.

Speaker RAYBURN possessed many noteworthy personal qualities too numerous to recount here, that won for him deep respect, high esteem and the sincere love of his colleagues and his people.

Endowed with a facile, well-stocked mind and a sympathetic heart, of rugged integrity, deep humility and personal modesty, the Speaker was a man of simplicity and lack of ostentation. Down to earth in his personal relationships, as well as in his political judgments, impatient with pretense and sham, he possessed a strength of character that stood out and marked him as a real leader.

Notwithstanding his lofty position and the many honors that had been bestowed upon him, he clung tenaciously to his own code of simple unpretentious demeanor, plain, direct expression and the courage and intelligence to face every issue placed before him with assurance and confidence.

Mr. SAM was instinctively warmhearted, generous, understanding, sympathetic and considerate, always willing to recognize the other fellow's point of view. While he fought hard for his programs, he relied on argument, persuasion, and the friendly approach.

A fine gentleman in every sense of the word, adhering to a high code, exemplifying appealing personal qualities, effective powers of persuasion, sound sensible judgments, and sure mastery over political questions and the affairs of the House, he was able on very many occasions to turn defeat into victory.

The House and the Nation will miss this great leader, this great American, and his name will go down in history with everlasting lustre and fame. We have all lost a dear friend and valued counselor. The House has lost one of its greatest Speakers, the Nation has lost a faithful, dedicated public servant, and the people of America have lost one of their most effective champions in the legislative annals of the country.

He was a team worker, as well as a team leader, and respected the Members of the House. He loved the House as few, if any, ever have and he interpreted its rules with a fierce impartiality, with fidelity, knowledge, and ability that in turn won for him the deep respect, confidence, and gratitude of his colleagues and the admiration of the Nation and the world.

His friendship with the great man destined to succeed him, our cherished and esteemed colleague, Speaker John W. McCormack, was one of the most unusual and edifying, as well as most fruitful in American history. Such profound mutual trust, admiration, affection, and effective cooperation as marked the relationships and labors of these two great American leaders would be difficult, if not impossible, to find, if we searched the pages of the past. Here was highly skillful, professional leadership at its best—deep in understanding, broad of reach, noble of purpose and gloriously productive of great, epoch-making results—for the House, the Nation, and the world.

To his bereaved family, district, and State, from a heart deeply moved by sorrow and overflowing with gratitude for this good and great life, I extend most heartfelt sympathy, and pray that Speaker SAM RAYBURN, honored and beloved in death as he was in life, may find rest and peace in his heavenly home.

The memory of this noble son of Texas will long remain as a shining beacon of hope and inspiration for the Members of this and succeeding sessions of the Congress. His influence will long be a warming and elevating spirit in the minds and hearts of people—here and throughout the world. May the good Lord keep him forever.

Mr. Speaker, about a year ago, over a nationwide television program, I listened to the very interesting and well-considered views of our late and beloved and most esteemed Speaker SAM RAYBURN, as they were presented in response to a series of questions on the panel "Washington Conversation."

I was so deeply impressed with the views of our beloved Speaker at the time that I immediately wrote him a brief letter commenting on the excellence of his presentation and the splendid manner in which he had commented on many burning public issues.

I thought no more of the matter until about 2 weeks afterward, when our dear friend, the then Speaker, came to me on the floor of the House and thanked me very warmly for the letter I had sent him.

He said it was "one of the finest letters he had ever received," and he thought so well of it that he was arranging to have it placed in the Rayburn Library at his beautiful hometown, Bonham, Tex.

The letter had been written from New York, where by mere chance I had seen the excellent program, and I had no copy of it. Most desirous of seeing its contents, I made appropriate inquiries at the Speaker's office and have just received a copy of the letter from Bonham. It reads as follows:

HOTEL ASTOR,
New York, N.Y., Saturday.

The Honorable SAM RAYBURN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Your talk on "Washington Conversation" which I have just heard over TV was one of the finest ever. It ended too soon.

But it was replete with accurate, sound commentary on many political figures and matters, past and contemporary, and infused with noble philosophy. The country will be very deeply impressed, and I wish it could be carried into every hamlet, not only to inform and inspire, but to clarify many popular misconceptions.

It reminded me so much of Plato, his image of the democratic city, state, and the philosopher king. You are indeed cast in that mold—great in ability, in experience, and in justice, rich in all those things and attributes that make for lofty service to the people. Do it again soon.

Warm and admiring congratulations.

God love and keep you.

Proudly,

PHILIP J. PHILBIN.

Mr. Speaker, as I reread the letter, I was very happy indeed to realize that I had written to our beloved and great former Speaker while he was with us some of the very things that were said of him after he had passed from the scene and left an irreplaceable void in our midst.

In this sense, I felt no inconsiderable satisfaction that I had conveyed to him in person, even if but very briefly, some of the thoughts that were in my mind and heart concerning his memorable service and everlasting inspiration.

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Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, every Member who served in the House of Representatives with SAM RAYBURN, of Texas, remembers him for some particular personal reason. Some will remember his quiet but forceful leadership, his dedication and love of country, his native State and his beloved House of Representatives. Others will recall his deep faith and conviction concerning the rights and dignity of human beings, his fairness and forthrightness, his understanding and his charity. For SAM RAYBURN was many things to many men. His qualities were myriad, his attraction universal. He was, however, one thing to all men—the symbol of fair play and pure Americanism.

I personally remember Mr. RAYBURN because of his kindness, his thoughtfulness and his generosity. My first speech in the House of Representatives was made on the 17th of March, 1959. Being of Irish descent, I had selected that day for my maiden speech and had selected as a topic, "St. Patrick's Day." Representative Gordon Canfield, who was then the dean of the New Jersey delegation, learned that I was about to address the House for the first time. Without my knowledge, he spoke to Mr. RAYBURN and told him that the newest member of the delegation was about to make his first speech in the House. He reminded Mr. RAYBURN that it was St. Patrick's Day and pointed out that the newest member of the New Jersey delegation was Irish. As I stood in the well of the House that day, more than 50 other Members stood with me. On the Democrat side I observed many Members with many years of seniority among whom were distinguished chairmen of various House committees. On the Republican side I also saw many distinguished Members with long years of service in the House. It was, therefore, a great shock to me to hear Mr. Rayburn acknowledge me as the first speaker on that day. The shock must have been evident during my short speech. While the shock has been forgotten, the pleasure and appreciation I felt on that day have continued and will continue for the rest of my life for it was indeed the Speaker's kindness, thoughtfulness and generosity which made that novel and happy privilege possible.

As a result of Mr. Rayburn's kindness, the front page of the Congressional Record of Tuesday, March 17, 1959, will reflect for all time that a Republican freshman Congressman was the recipient of the kindness, generosity and thoughtfulness of an understanding Speaker.

This Record, together with a photograph of Mr. Rayburn which hangs in my office will continue to be demonstrable reminders to me and my family of his generosity and kindness.

Mr. Rayburn's death has been a tremendous loss to the Congress, to the United States and to the world. So long as there is a world, Mr. Sam will be remembered in history as one of the truly great Americans of all time.

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Mr. SCHENCK. Mr. Speaker, the privilege of coming to know and to serve here in the House of Representatives of the United States with the late Speaker, Sam Rayburn, was an experience which I shall never forget and for which I shall always be grateful. Our acquaintance ripened into friendship based upon mutual respect and high regard for each other. The untimely passing of Speaker Rayburn left me with a deep sorrow in the realization of having lost a good and personal friend.

Frequently, of course, we disagreed on matters of a partisan political nature but we disagreed without rancor or anger because we fully respected the rights of each other to our views and opinions.

Speaker RAYBURN was always available to confer with Members of the House and to permit us to inquire into or discuss with him matters pertaining to the operations and the work of the House of Representatives. When his opinion or advice was sought on some such matter or some personal or other request was made, Speaker RAYBURN never hesitated to give a forthright answer. If a personal request was granted it was not necessary to have it confirmed in writing because Speaker RAYBURN would remember and would honor any commitment he made. Speaker RAYBURN never questioned the word of a Member when it was given to him in honesty and good faith. Speaker RAYBURN had a deep and abiding interest and faith in the youth of our Nation because he fully recognized that the entire future of our Nation depends upon these youth. Therefore, as he had the time and opportunity to meet with youthful constituents of mine and other Members of the House, he would talk with them freely. He would encourage them to take an active interest in the affairs of their Government, know its history, its philosophies, its principles, and its purposes. Thus Speaker RAYBURN would impress upon them the need for constant understanding, and for devoted and patriotic service to our American way of life.

These, Mr. Speaker, are but a few of the many memories I shall always cherish which grew and flowered during the 10 years of association it was my privilege to have with our late Speaker, SAM RAYBURN, here in the House of Representatives of the United States.

The House of Representatives has lost a great leader, our Nation has lost a great American, and I, Mr. Speaker, have lost a good friend.

SAM RAYBURN

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, on the afternoon of last November 18, with the President of the United States, Members of the House and the Senate, the great and near great from many walks of life, I stood by the open grave of SAM RAYBURN, a plain crypt in a modest family plot in a small cemetery in the little north Texas town of Bonham, and listened to the last words of a simple service and as I did so I thought back on the remarkable life and career of one of the greatest Speakers ever to mount the rostrum of this Chamber.

I saw him as an earnest lad, trudging a rutted wagon road to a rustic one-room school where he first glimpsed, within the covers of the few books available, a new world. A world far removed from the 40 acres of barren cotton land that had tied his family inexorably to a life of poverty, drudgery, and hardship. I saw him, humble but determined, working his way through college, ringing the college bell, sweeping out classrooms, making fires, doing any odd job that was available. I saw him as a teacher in Bonham planning ahead to a career in greatness. I saw him take the first step toward his boyhood goal of entering public life when he was elected to the Texas House of Representatives. I saw him become speaker of that body at the age of 29—then the youngest man ever to be so honored in the Texas Legislature. I saw him elected to this House in 1912, coming to Washington at the outset of the Woodrow Wilson administration to start a House career longer than any other in history. I saw him achieve his boyhood ambition in the fullest sense where this House elected him to succeed William B. Bankhead as Speaker on September 16, 1940. He had indeed come a long way. He was to go much further. He was to serve as Speaker twice as long as anyone else. More importantly, he would be a great Speaker.

SAM RAYBURN summed up his distinguished career in one short and meaningful sentence. He said, not long ago, "I am one man in public life who is satisfied, who has achieved every ambition of his youth."

Few men are blessed with the character, ability, unswerving devotion and loyalty to family, friends and country that enabled SAM RAYBURN to rise from obscurity and poverty to one of the most powerful positions to which an American citizen can aspire in this great land; second only to the Vice President in line of succession to the office of Chief Executive, SAM RAYBURN had the qualities in abundance. He loved the House of Representatives as few men have loved it. He contributed to preservation of representative government as essential to good government as few men have done—here or anywhere in the world. His lifetime spanned an amazing period in American history. He was born before electric lights and automobiles and lived to see missiles orbiting the earth. He left his mark as few have done and the mark he left is that of a good man grown to greatness; a friend to man who never forgot how to be a friend, or tired of being a friend.

But I reflect in the sadness that all of us feel that here was a great leader struck down by a dread killer which claimed lives in the year SAM RAYBURN was born with the same cold and impersonal finality that it claimed his life many, many years later. There is double tragedy in such a realization.

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Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, this America—this country which Speaker RAYBURN loved so well is a young country—a changing country.

For more than one quarter of the years of the independence of the United States of America, one man served in the Congress.

One man served in 25 of the 87 Congresses that have represented the people of America in the House of Representatives.

One man served for 17 years—far longer than any other man—as Speaker of that House.

One life has spanned the period from the Old Frontier to the New Frontier. One career of public service has included service to the Nation with the 28th to the 35th President.

No man in the brief history of the United States has had greater influence over a longer—a more changing—period of our national history.

When Speaker Rayburn was 8 years old, in 1890, the rural population of America outnumbered the urban by almost two to one—40,841,449 on the land; 22,106,265 in the towns. Now the population is almost three times as large as in 1890, and the ratio has switched: 125,268,750 in the towns and cities in 1960 and 54,054,425 on the land.

During the years the Speaker served the House of Representatives the United States converted from a simple agrarian society to the largest and most complex free society the world has ever known.

What manner of man could span and influence these changes?

It could not be a small man who refused to recognize change and thought of America in 19th century terms. It could not be a man whose idealism clouded his judgment.

No—it required a man like Sam Rayburn whose idealism, tough-minded honesty and ability to make up his own mind inspired the House of Representatives and the entire Nation.

His philosophy of government was often expressed to us in the House, but in my 3 years of service in the Congress, never more clearly than during consideration of major labor reform legislation. In that difficult time the ideas that Speaker Rayburn expressed should be a guide to all legislators of all countries and all times. He said:

> Legislation should never be written to punish someone. It should always be written in a spirit of fair play, justice, and equal opportunity. * * * This middle road—the road of reason and fair play—is a hard one to walk, but more often than not it is the path of commonsense and justice.

On this solemn occasion dedicated to the memory of a great man, let us resolve that his memory will be forever before us guiding us in our duties as public servants. As Speaker RAYBURN said:

> As a public official who for almost half a century has tried to serve you by helping to pass laws that would make your path a little smoother and your burdens a little lighter, I invite you to join with those of us who believe in following the middle path—the road of reason and fair play—as we come to grips with this great national problem.
>
> Let us reform without punishing. Let us cure without crushing.
>
> Let us take the path of justice and commonsense, for down that road lies the America of our dreams, with peace, and plenty, and justice for all.

* * *

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, there has long been debate over whether the times produce great men, or men produce the times; but the world, our country, and future generations of freedom-loving people are reverently thankful for whatever fortuitous set of circumstances gave us the leadership of our beloved Mr. SAM.

Speaker SAM RAYBURN embodied the seldom-found attributes of brilliance, warmth, devotion to principle, and dedication to the good of the people. He was a fantastically able leader of men. To his country, he was a man who commanded respect; who helped plot the path of the Nation; who spoke with wisdom and compassion. To the world, he was a farsighted, able leader whose devotion to his country was exceeded only by his devotion to the cause of freedom. To his party, he was the symbol of loyalty, of accomplishment—an eloquent spokesman for the historic principles of the Democratic Party.

To the House of Representatives, he was a wise counsellor and an able leader who won the love and respect of every Representative fortunate to serve with him. Mr. SAM loved the House. He truly believed in the democratic principles upon which it rests. He was convinced that the House is and ought to be the voice of all the people.

Today, one cannot review the record of Mr. SAM's accomplishments without reciting the history of our great country for the past half century. The life of Speaker RAYBURN was closely intertwined with the life of his country. The mark of his leadership can be seen in the programs that have made the United States the leader of the free world. During periods of grave crisis, of historic decisions, he was the unflinching champion of the cause of freedom, of the historic rights of the people.

Mr. SAM will be sorely missed. But his lessons were well taught. So long as freedom lives and this House stands, Mr. SAM will be remembered.

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Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, although I served but one term under our beloved Speaker, Mr. SAM, I feel that I knew him well, and I loved him for his personal qualities and appreciated him for his splendid worth and leadership. It was a wonderful privilege to have been a Member of Congress with Mr. SAM at the helm of the House, and in this period I had opportunity to feel the warmth of his genial disposition and to be the recipient of his kindness and cordiality. I shall always cherish this privilege and my memories of this great statesman.

Along with many North Carolinians, I shall always cherish the memory of the two visits Mr. SAM made to our State in recent years. The first visit was to the Sixth North Carolina District rally, during the campaign of 1960, where he was keynote speaker and where he received an ovation of such magnitude and warmth as I have seldom seen. Although he came to our State for the express purpose of addressing the Sixth District rally, when other invitations were inevitably pressed upon him, he was generous beyond the call of duty and visited three other points in our State before arriving at Burlington for the dinner preceding the evening rally. What a fine, stirring speech he made and what a wonderful reception he received.

This visit was in October 1960. In May of 1961, he complied with our earnest request to make the keynote speech at the annual Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner. People from all over the State of North Carolina converged on our capital city of Raleigh, most of them motivated by the desire to hear Mr. Sam speak. Again he turned in a most magnificent performance and again he was given a thunderous applause and welcome. I have the feeling that this was perhaps one of the last, if not the last, major political speeches he made before illness necessitated his departure for his home in Texas prior to adjournment of the first session.

Mr. Sam left such an indelible imprint of his personality and dedication to his country that I believe in the annual North Carolina Jefferson-Jackson Day dinners we will hold in the future, there will be a silent partner present in everybody's mind and heart, and we will think of the occasion as the Jefferson-Jackson-Rayburn Day celebration.

He was loved by Members on both sides of this House, as we all know, and today as we memorialize him, we think of him not only as Mr. Democrat himself but as a great citizen of the Nation and of the world. His enormous prestige affected not one iota his inborn humility and his devotion to his day-by-day heavy responsibilities. In no sense did he ever rest on his laurels, but rather he continually strove to keep this House the greatest and most responsible legislative body in the world, and to maintain America's traditional place of leadership in the community of nations.

Mr. Sam's many-faceted personality and his inner spark which illuminated every endeavor he undertook combined to make him one of the strongest images of his time. He will ever be remembered in these Halls, and in the hearts of all of us who knew him will be his eternal monument.

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Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, it is difficult to reconcile ourselves to the fact that our beloved Speaker, Sam Rayburn, has passed away. His political career is unparalleled in the history of his country. He served as Speaker of the House for 17 years, longer than anyone had previously served in this most important office, the incumbent of which is third in succession to the Presidency of the United States.

Speaker RAYBURN had those outstanding moral and intellectual qualities necessary for the Presiding Officer of the House of Representatives of the greatest free Government of the world. He also had those qualities that are essential for leadership—sound judgment, patience, perseverance, and unyielding adherence to the principles and policies advocated by his party for the welfare of the country. He presided with dignity and firmness, yet he was patient, considerate, and kind to the Members of both parties and his decisions were accepted without protest which expedited legislation and brought tranquility to the Members.

I had the privilege of voting for him when he first became Speaker and I have seen his influence increase and the admiration for him by his colleagues grow year by year. He had become an institution, a symbol of the power and the achievements of the House of Representatives. His rulings were fair and just and even when partisan spirit ran high he rendered justice according to law, "whose seat is the bosom of God and whose voice is the harmony of the world." His many fine qualities of kindness and helpfulness to young Members of Congress and his justice and fairness to all will never be forgotten. Not only the House of Representatives, but the Nation has sustained a great loss. He will have a high place in the history of his country and in the hearts of his countrymen. His character, his achievements, and his faithful service will be an inspiration to generations yet to come. The elements were "so mixed in him, that nature might stand up and say to all the world, 'this was a man.' "

May God let the light of His countenance shine upon him and give him peace.

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Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on this occasion of tribute to the memory of beloved Speaker RAYBURN, we are expressing for posterity our devotion and respect to a great national leader—a citizen who had great influence upon the life of each and every Member of the House, as well as any other American.

The Speaker kept Congress on an even keel for four Presidents, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, President Harry Truman, President Dwight Eisenhower, and President Kennedy. His loyalty to the President stifled partisanship during the Eisenhower years. Presidents had come to rely on Speaker SAM RAYBURN to "keep House." The progress and even the security of the United States depended greatly on the wisdom and vigor of the Speaker.

The House of Representatives is a large and cumbersome legislative body. Without strong leadership, the legislative process could easily become snarled and indifferent. Speaker RAYBURN, during his long years of service, developed an effective formula which produced essential legislative action on schedule without impairment to the right of an individual member to amend, revise, comment, or complain. The RAYBURN years have implemented and improved procedures under which this large legislative body could effectively conduct its work.

Speaker RAYBURN leaves a rich legacy of honor, wisdom, and statesmanship to the House of Representatives and to the Nation. Each of us who have served with him live on to serve in the bright light of his inspired leadership.

The test of a great leader is revealed in his capacity to develop other leaders. Speaker RAYBURN prepared for his departure by sharing grave responsibilities with the then majority leader, Hon. John W. McCormack and Hon. Carl Albert, the party whip. In this way, the shift in party leadership in the House was quickly made in an orderly manner so that the Congress could continue its business without delay.

The House will not be the same without Speaker RAYBURN, but in his memory, it will continue to do its business with honor, dispatch, dignity, and decorum.

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Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, before we become too involved in the hurly-burly of this session, it is well to reflect on the loss we have suffered in the death of Speaker RAYBURN.

Mr. Sam's record tenure as Speaker was only one of his distinctions—one which was overshadowed by distinctions of a qualitative nature. I think every Member of the House during the last 20 years was impressed by the great dignity, effectiveness, and impartiality with which he presided.

It is hard to conceive of any other job in which there would be so many temptations to be impatient, partial, or arbitrary. The legislative sessions of this body sometimes consist of spirited debate and the actions of some Members at times border on the unruly. In the conflict created by the intense drive of differing beliefs and convictions, a detached, fair chairman is of great value.

Sam Rayburn was able to divorce his personal views from the demands of his official position. Although strongly partisan in his private convictions, he did not abuse the power of being Speaker by attempting to win for his point of view through parliamentary domination.

The job of Speaker is perhaps made even more taxing by the knowledge that every action takes place under close public scrutiny, and today even seemingly minor incidents on the floor of the House may have reverberations around the world.

Throughout his association with the House and as its Speaker, Mr. Sam showed a deep understanding of the legislative process in our country and a complete devotion to it. Certainly his record helped to raise the standards in the Congress, and his influence will be felt for many years.

Something would be vitally wrong with our free society if the persons of either political party were not able to recognize ability, integrity, and dedication even in those with whom they frequently disagree. Republicans generally had a great respect for Sam Rayburn and recognized him as a fine American, an able leader, and a gifted legislator.

Even with all of his force and directness, Mr. Sam was a kindly man. Insults were not a part of his nature. His greatness of stature, his unselfish dedication to the welfare and destiny of his country and its people will in years to come become a part of our national heritage.

Shortly before leaving the House of Representatives to return to his Texas home, Mr. SAM said, "I love this House." I hope that he knew the depth of admiration and affection in which this House held him.

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Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay my respects to our distinguished former Speaker of the House of Representatives, the late SAM RAYBURN.

He loved the House of Representatives, he served it faithfully and during his tenure as Speaker he protected its traditions. Mr. RAYBURN gave outstanding service as the Speaker of the House, a position he held longer than any other man in the history of our Nation.

SAM RAYBURN loved his State of Texas and he loved the United States; he dedicated his life in their service. He believed in the American way of life and he fought to maintain our institutions.

His career was long and distinguished. Only history can measure and judge the true role he played in the destiny of our country.

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Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, to record the achievements as an individual, the achievements as a legislator, the achievements as a statesman, and the achievements as a leader, of our beloved late Speaker would take volumes. To each and every Member of the House he was a beloved person, strong and firm yet filled with courtesy, consideration, and reflecting the dignity and honesty commensurate with his office.

Mr. SAM was not only a friend and neighbor of his own district, he was a friend and neighbor of the Nation.

Coming into a chair of leadership during the midst of unrest, strife, and turmoil incident to the most hectic days of the so-called New Deal—Rooseveltian—era, he blazed the trail which led to the enactment of the many laws that remain today on our statute books from which all America has benefited. His final day of leadership saw him again in the forefront marshaling the forces of the Nation in support of domestic recovery and military strength and the preservation of the dignity of our country amongst its allies and other foreign nations.

Simply, Mr. SAM's life could be opened and closed by saying he was a man truly, wholly dedicated to his country and his fellowman.

I close the books upon a personal friend as a nation closes it books upon a personal friend.

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Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the immortal SAM RAYBURN, our beloved former Speaker. His entire life has symbolized the noble ideals and aspirations upon which this great Nation was founded.

The untimely demise of Speaker RAYBURN is a grievous loss to every one of us in this House and the Nation and all its people. At a time when crisis has become normalcy, when national misjudgment may spell national disaster, strong men are needed to keep the ship of state on a steady and even keel.

At a time when voices of extremism are undermining national unity, sowing the seeds of suspicion and distrust, dispassionate men like SAM RAYBURN are needed to preserve our domestic freedom and parry the forces of totalitarian tyranny throughout the world.

Speaker RAYBURN, to be sure, was a big man. He was a towering giant in many ways. He was a true and stanch patriot which was evident in his deeds rather than in self-acclaim. The death of Speaker RAYBURN meant the loss of a strong, fair and respected national leader, an able lawmaker, and a man whose word and commitments were always honored. In SAM RAYBURN's death, the Nation and the free world has lost one of its most courageous and talented champions of liberty and democracy.

Through his fairness and sympathetic understanding, Speaker RAYBURN was able to find unity among the great diversity which exists in this body and channel it into a common effort for orderly progress. Through his quiet personal manner, he could effect a fair and equitable compromise between conflicting individuals and parties whom others would have thought irreconcilable. In these qualities of personal leadership lies the genius of SAM RAYBURN.

It is a great honor for any of us to have the respect and confidence of our fellow citizens and constituents in being elected to this House and to have the opportunity to be a part of this greatest legislative body in world history. It is an especial honor to have served in this great body under Speaker RAYBURN. When I first came here as a Member of the House, I can well recall the cordial treatment I received from Mr. RAYBURN and his help and guidance to me as a freshman in the Congress.

On many occasions he had rendered valuable assistance to me and my constituents when difficult problems arose.

Speaker RAYBURN was a practical idealist. His vision, integrity, patience, and devotion to the best interest of his party and, most of all, his country, give inspiration to us all to carry on in the tradition of this great American. His name will be honored and cherished forever as one of America's great men.

We are indeed fortunate to have as his successor the former majority leader, the Honorable John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts.

Together, under his leadership, may we move forward in these serious, dangerous and changing times. Inspired by the memory of SAM RAYBURN, we can successfully meet the many tasks that lie ahead in our efforts for a strong and united America, in a free and peaceful world.

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Mr. DOOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my distinguished colleagues in the House on both sides of the aisle who are today eulogizing our late Speaker, SAM RAYBURN.

Few men in the history of the Congress have had the privilege of serving with such distinction over so long a period of time. For half a century SAM RAYBURN made his presence felt not only throughout the Halls of Congress but throughout the Nation. He was responsible for the motivation of many important pieces of legislation which have had a profound effect on the development of the entire country.

The thing that impressed me, as a Republican, about this great Democrat, was his quality of absolute fairness in all his dealings. His decisions on parliamentary questions in the House reflected his highly developed intellect and won the admiration of all his colleagues regardless of their political persuasion.

The State of Texas was the first to recognize the superb qualities which Mr. SAM possessed, and the Nation will not soon forget him. He had a sense of history without being histrionic, and a sense of the fitness of things which made him respect even those who opposed him.

Few men have rendered greater service to our country than SAM RAYBURN, and those of us who knew him pride ourselves for having had his friendship.

❧

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I am grateful that I was permitted to serve in Congress as a colleague of SAM RAYBURN, who is being honored today as one of the great legislative leaders of all time.

SAM RAYBURN became the most experienced legislator in the world. He probably had more influence on Congress than any other person in the history of this great Nation, yet 18 months ago when I was sworn in as a new Member of this body, he had time to call me to his office and offer advice, answer questions, and extend a warm welcome.

SAM RAYBURN often visited my home State of North Carolina where he had many close personal friends. His last public appearance was at the annual Jackson-Jefferson dinner in Raleigh last spring. The people of North Carolina loved SAM RAYBURN and held him in high respect and esteem. One of my constituents stated, "If there is anything bigger than Texas, it is SAM RAYBURN's heart."

His fairness and fine qualities of character made him a friend of Congressmen of both political parties. He established a standard of excellence in public service which all of us might well try to emulate. He added dignity, respect, and integrity to politics. For decades the memory and monumental influence of SAM RAYBURN will bring us closer together as Members of Congress and will enable us better to serve the country which be loved.

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Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, words cannot adequately express the appreciation of the people of America for the achievements of the late SAM RAYBURN, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

He was a great humanitarian, dedicated to making democracy serve as an effective instrument to promote human happiness.

His life was devoted to serving the people through constructive legislative action.

He played a most prominent role in advancing every cause that made America strong on the domestic front and a powerful force to promote the cause of permanent peace.

He served his country admirably in the most crucial period of our history. SAM RAYBURN saw a great deal of American history. He served as a Member of Congress for nearly half a century. He saw three wars, depressions, peace, prosperity and the great struggle against Communist domination that confronts us today.

He never once lost faith in the principles of duty and devotion to the causes of freedom. If we are to keep faith with the memory of SAM RAYBURN we must continue to fight as he would have.

SAM RAYBURN's place in history would have been assured by any one of his many contributions to our Nation. His country was his life, its greatness—his dream. SAM RAYBURN will have a place in history in the hearts of all Americans.

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Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker—

> There is no test of a man's ability in any department of public life more severe than service in the House of Representatives; there is no place where so little deference is paid to reputation previously acquired or to eminence won outside; no place where so little consideration is shown for the feelings or failures of beginners. What a man gains in the House he gains by sheer force of his own character, and if he loses and falls back he must expect no mercy and will receive no sympathy. It is a field in which the survival of the strongest is the recognized rule, and where no pretense can survive and no glamor can mislead. The real man is discovered, his worth is impartially weighed, his rank is irrevocably decided.

So spoke James G. Blaine in February 1882 in his eulogy of President James O. Garfield. Surely all who have served as Members of this House know the deep truth of every word. All of us who had the privilege of serving with Speaker RAYBURN know how truly he became the greatest among us, beloved and respected by all.

Few men have set their eyes upon their star as early as did Mr. SAM. Still fewer reach the goal without bitterness or arrogance or pride. Few so successfully use the power given them by the people with such heartfulness and justice. It seemed that Mr. SAM must have had deep in his very being the words of Cicero—in the year 40 B.C.:

> No one has power except from the people. * * * This is the condition of a free people * * * to be able to give or to take away by their votes whatever they see fit.

Knowing his worth, his people sent him back and back and back; and the Congress kept him as Speaker longer than any man in our history. How kind he was, how fair, how just. Yet he could be stern; he could be hard; he could be ruthless. But one knew that his love was given unswervingly to his country and its House of Representatives, his whole life consecrated to their service.

How fortunate we have been, those of us who served with him. For me the knowledge that I had the privilege of his friendship and of his affection has been and always will be a heartwarming experience. To have him write me as he did on January 8, 1960, "to me life has been full and satisfying," will be a joy to me always.

Now that he has gone from us it will be well for us to recall the ancient words so beautifully translated from the Sanskrit by Sir Edwin Arnold:

Never the spirit was born; the spirit shall cease to be never;
  Never was time it was not; End and Beginning are dreams!
Birthless and deathless and changless remaineth the spirit forever;
  Death hath not touched it at all, dead though the house of it seems.
Nay, but as one who layeth
  His worn-out robes away,
And taking new ones, sayeth
  "These will I wear today."
So putteth by the spirit
  Lightly its robe of flesh,
And passeth to inherit
  A residence afresh.

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Mr. ST. GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, upon coming to Washington as a Member of Congress, I, like millions of my fellow Americans, knew our late Speaker only as a newspaper image. Freshmen Congressmen entered this Chamber with a feeling that the Speaker was cold, firm, and hard. We had heard of him as a man who ruled firmly and was at the very pulse of this Chamber. The public, the millions of Americans who only knew Mr. SAM through secondary sources, could not know the man behind that image.

Contrary to the public image of our late Speaker he had a heart that ran with the warmest. I remember the many times that Members of the House brought youngsters to this hall. In the midst of the deepest of debate on the most serious of issues, Mr. SAM had time to say "hello" to the youngest of citizens and, as was the case with my own daughter, bring them up to the rostrum and set them upon his knee. The oldest was no mightier than the youngest, for our late Speaker found in the young the future hopes and aspirations of our Nation. Speaker RAYBURN knew the pulse of our country as well as that of this Chamber.

Whether one has been in the House for 1 year or for several decades, one could not but admire, respect, and revere Speaker RAYBURN. He devoted himself entirely to our democracy and this Chamber.

Our late Speaker's guiding hand has often led the way during some of the most trying hours of our Nation's recent history. He began his service in the House as America was becoming aware of the world beyond its shores. He gave counsel and consolation to the Nation during two world wars. In these struggles to preserve democracy Speaker RAYBURN helped guide an America that has emerged as the leading nation of the world. His wisdom, strength, and encouragement has helped to keep our Nation progressive, prosperous, and free.

The image of our beloved colleague was partially true. He had the insight and the sense and feeling for this House which few others have matched. He chaired this Chamber as only one who loved it could. He stood as a symbol to the world that a democracy does not lose contact with its people, that a democracy is but half a breath from the will of its citizens. He stands as a symbol of the best that a democracy can produce and no nation has ever produced a finer man.

This Nation, and free peoples throughout the world, will long remember this man, his words and his works. I feel it a singular honor to rise in tribute to our late Speaker. We will do well to follow his principles, ideals, and aspirations.

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, when the gavel fell at 12 noon on January 10 the House of Representatives was not the same. It will never be the same again without SAM RAYBURN.

Whenever a great American passes away the column inches of tribute run into miles. So there is little I can add except to say that, like all Congressmen, I respected Mr. RAYBURN as a political opponent and loved him as a man.

Speaker RAYBURN deeply respected the House as one of the great institutions of the Republic. He realized that a republic depends on differences of opinion and compromise to produce a policy that is best for America. For this reason he was a strongly partisan Democrat. But always he was respectful of opposition and insured its expression.

I served 7 years under SAM RAYBURN as Speaker, and can honestly say that not once did he ever do an unfair thing to me. If I deserved recognition under the rules of the House I got it even when a Democrat might be standing. Not once did he use his great power to deny me or any opponent the right to express the opposition which he would try to defeat but would always respect.

This is not to say that SAM RAYBURN was not the most rugged of fighters nor the most skillful. Many is the time I have seen almost sure victory snatched away on one of the rare occasions when he would leave the rostrum and take the floor to win his point with quiet dignity and without raising his voice.

Because the House of Representatives is the great body SAM RAYBURN made it, the business of the Nation will go on. It will not be the same but will always bear his mark. It will always be the House that Mr. SAM built.

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Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, I will never forget the morning when Mr. SAM invited the new members of the 86th Congress to breakfast in the old Supreme Court chambers in the Senate. All of us present were thrilled at the opportunity to meet and get acquainted with this fabulous man who was making U.S. history when many of us were still in high school. Unassuming, direct, he did not take long to give us our basic instruction in the manners and customs of the House. His advice will always be affectionately recalled. It was sound and as we listened we knew we were hearing it from a true leader of men.

In the course of my service in this great body, I shared with my colleagues the great privilege of working with Mr. SAM. Without exception he had the affection, admiration and respect of every Member. His outstanding accomplishments will live in our history as the most fitting tribute to his memory.

Mr. Speaker, I shall always regard it as one of the great moments of my life experience to have had the privilege and great honor to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives with Mr. SAM RAYBURN.

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Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to associate myself with all the good things that have been said here today about our late and lamented Speaker of the House, SAM RAYBURN. History will undoubtedly record him as one of the truly great Speakers who have served here. In terms of longevity, he excelled all his predecessors. Always fair, considerate, and judicious as a presiding officer, he commanded universal respect. As a strategist in debate and procedure, he was outstanding.

Perhaps few if any have served here who were more dedicated and devoted to this body than was SAM RAYBURN. He was often heard to say "I love the House of Representatives." And he proved it by his constant attendance and by his driving leadership in the furtherance of legislation in which he was interested.

It is therefore my honor to join in the eulogies that have been paid this great and good man. His influence and his handiwork will be felt for generations to come.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, the passing of our great Speaker has saddened us all. His leadership will be sorely missed. However, as he would wish it to be, the House of Representatives will close ranks and continue to be the greatest deliberative body on earth. As we do this, however, each of us will from time to time recall with a feeling of warmth the fairness, devotion to duty, and kindness of SAM RAYBURN.

Speaker RAYBURN was a partisan in every sense of the word. He would fight hard, long, and effectively for his point of view and his party. However, those of us who found ourselves in opposition to him many times could not but admire these qualities, and be grateful for the fact that he always knew the rules of the game and played accordingly. No one ever needed to wonder whether he would receive every consideration deserved by him as a Member of the House at the hands of Speaker RAYBURN, because such consideration was always forthcoming.

We can all be grateful for the zealousness with which Speaker RAYBURN guarded the prerogatives of the House and its Members. His stewardship in this area, as well as in other phases of his duty as Speaker, was of outstanding quality.

To his family I express my sincere sympathy at the loss of a relative who was also one of the great men of his time. The pride which they must feel in the life he lived and its accomplishments will be a continuing source of pride and comfort to them through the years.

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Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, I join the membership of this House and of all America in paying tribute to our late beloved Speaker, SAM RAYBURN. His death was a most serious loss to this Nation and a distinct shock to all of us in this body. To those of us who had the opportunity to so closely observe his capable and dynamic leadership, it was a rewarding experience.

I had the privilege of serving under him for the entire 22 years of my congressional career. Early in my service I came to a full realization of the inherent greatness of this man. Over the intervening years I noted the growth in his effectiveness and capabilities.

The Nation has lost a dedicated and respected leader. His long and fruitful life has been a continuous history of service to America and the American people. The scores of years of his public life were marked by a devotion to the highest ideals and the furtherance of those ideals by constructive and responsible action. SAM RAYBURN was a man whose mind and heart were attuned to his country's needs. He will be sorely missed by all of us for many years to come.

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Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, historians will record the high place in American history mankind has reserved for SAM RAYBURN. I am also sure that there will be a niche in the history of the world marked for Mr. SAM. His call to the representation of the American people in Congress, to rally to the support of the Presidents under whom he served, guarantees a unique place for Speaker SAM in any historical record. He did not hold the highest office in the United States—that of President—but he was one step away from that position had anything happened to the President or the Vice President. He was next in line for the Presidency.

In his public service as a Representative from Texas, he served 17 years as Speaker of the House of Representatives. He left a mark on all of the legislation enacted. He left a deep impression on the lives of those with whom he served. His work was so constructive that his daily actions helped preserve and make stronger the resources of our Republic, its institutions and its very foundations. All of these were rocked many times in the era of history during which he served. His constructive leadership helped to steady the course of the American ship of state on many occasions.

I consider myself most fortunate to have served with Mr. Sam Rayburn in the House of Representatives. My life is richer for having known him. He was a gentleman. He was a true American. He had faith in all Americans. He inspired others to carry on, to act judiciously, carefully, but always firm. The latter was a stoic quality which I am sure was derived from his native background and heritage of that great State of Texas.

I shall never forget my last words with Mr. Sam. It was near the adjournment of Congress. Several of my colleagues were having lunch in the Members' dining room. We were all tired from the long, hectic session, all worried about Speaker Sam concerning whom one spoke in a whisper because of his illness. He passed our table and put his hand on my shoulder and said, "Edna, I am going home." We all looked at him and each wished him well but as I looked into his eyes the words of the song by William Arms Fisher, "Goin' Home," crossed my mind. I am sure these words are more symbolic of Mr. Sam than any closing remark I could make.

Goin' home, goin' home, I'm a-goin' home;
Quietlike, some still day, I'm jes' goin' home.
It's not far, jes' close by, through an open door,
Work all done, care laid by, gwine to fear no more.
Mother's there 'spectin' me, father's waiting too;
Lots o' folk gathered there, all the friends I knew,
All the friends I knew. Home, home, I'm goin' home.
Nothin' lost, all's gain; no more fret nor pain.
No more stumblin' on the way, no more longin' for the day
Gwine to roam no more.
Mornin' star lights the way, res'less dream all done;
Shadows gone, break o' day, real life jes' begun
Wide-awake, with a smile goin' on and on.
Goin' home, goin' home, I'm jes' goin' home;
It's not far, jes' close by, through an open door.
I'm jes' goin' home. Goin' home.

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Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that those of you Members of this great legislative body that were here promptly at 12 noon today, when our beloved Chaplain was called upon to offer prayer at the opening of the House for work this day, were quite cognizant of the fact that our Chaplain, too, was participating in a humble and very appropriate prayer in memory of our beloved former Speaker, Hon. SAM RAYBURN. For it was crystal clear that, in the beautiful and significant wording of his prayer, the Chaplain was also joining with us in memorial tribute to Mr. SAM.

I suggest that each of us read our Chaplain's memorial prayer to our beloved, departed Speaker.

To undertake to follow you very much elder Members of this great legislative body in time of service, who have so magnificently and inspiringly spoken of your many, many years of personal association with Mr. SAM, and of your loving and factual appraisal of his place in history, and yet to endeavor to add a few words of significant contribution, is a feat of humble words which I find it most impossible to accomplish. Yet, I did have the great inspiration and pleasure and day-to-day benefit, of sitting in this legislative Chamber for going on 16 years during most of which period Speaker SAM presided over this deliberative forum. And because immediately upon my coming here from one of the great congressional districts in my native State of California, elected to the Democratic side of this aisle, I instinctively and forthwith sensed his love and dedication to render service to every Member of this body regardless of political party affiliation, and because I had the personal experience of being welcomed by him into the warmth of his affection and best wishes too, I this day feel that, even though they be entirely inadequate, I must add a word at this time on this very appropriate memorial occasion.

Being daily conscious of the indelible contribution he made to my awareness of duty and privilege during my eight terms, most of which I sat under his speakership, yet I say to you men who have already spoken of him and have served so many more years than I under his friendly and fair and just and dignified leadership, all of you have thus been blessed far more than have I. And you, and each of you have spoken truly and beautifully and inspiringly of your experiences in the high tributes extended to him by you.

Perhaps I should relate a few words I gave to the press in the great 23d Congressional District, Los Angeles County, Calif., when on November 17, 1961, I was asked for a statement of my thought about his untimely death. So, if you will pardon me, I will read it to you:

> The death of Hon. SAM RAYBURN yesterday at Bonham, Tex., causes me the loss of a man I dearly loved and had the honor of serving in Congress with him for about 15 years. He served in the House of Representatives 48 years and has been for 16 years its beloved and distinguished Speaker.
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> It was at his urgent request that I accepted appointment to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, of which he was always a valiant, consistent supporter, tirelessly in the best interest of our beloved Nation. He was always trusted by all of us in Congress, regardless of political party; he was always fair and just in his decisions.
>
> He was always a great personal inspiration to my wife and me and our two grandsons, all of whom had met him personally, and to whom he was always most gracious.
>
> For me, and all other Members of the House of Representatives, he has bequeathed a legacy of unstinted, vigorous, valiant, humble, and persistent dedication to the best there is in American life, and to dedication of self, to love, and defense of the American flag, and all it stands for.

Mr. Speaker, it is well that during his lifetime and in his immediate presence, and when he could sit in our midst and hear us speak of him and the joy we have had in serving as Members of this House while he was Speaker—I say it was well—that we then paid to him in his immediate presence and on the occasion of his anniversary of having served longer as Speaker of this body by twice as long as had any other Speaker who had preceded him; it was well, that we gave him flowers while he could smell their fragrance. This is always good to do, is it not? And today, as we again gather and while knowing he is not actually here in physical presence yet, I am sure we all feel that his love and affection, and kindness and generosity and graciousness surround us and continues to make us better men and women because we are in the continued presence of all the characteristics which he not only emulated but put into practice. In this connection, I respectfully request that each of you who have so beautifully and pertinently and knowingly spoken of him as your great friend and leader for so many more years than I had that pleasure and experience, allow me to state that I adopt and approve and include each and everyone of these beautiful tributes which each of you have given as and for my own.

As I close, may I relate just two personal experiences which I and my immediate family membership had with him: First, he was always most gracious and pleasant and kind to my wife, Lydia, and in her presence was thus; and, when she was not able to be present at any social occasion or function where the wives of other Members of the House were present, he never failed to say to me, "Clyde, how is Lydia Doyle?" And so it was naturally always very pleasant to her for me to be able to thus take his cordial greeting home to her.

Then another occasion, which I always recall his generosity and understanding, is when one day before, I had presided a bit over the House by reason of his courtesy to me, I had used a certain gavel; the next day I introduced my eldest grandson to him, Danny Doyle Stanton. Immediately he presented my grandson with the very gavel which I had used the day before and which he had used that immediate day and then the Speaker autographed that particular gavel. My grandson, Dow Doyle Stanton, who, the first half of this 87th Congress, was a House page, cherishes that autographed gavel beyond any value in dollars; he took it to his high school class and proudly exhibited it and told of the gracious "Mr. Speaker." And similarly did he present a gavel which he had used to my youngest grandson, Clyde Doyle Stanton.

Another enriching experience that I had with him on dozens of occasions during my several terms was that, no matter how busy he was, if a congressional constituent from my congressional district was here in the Halls with me and

I had opportunity to present said constituent to Mr. Speaker, he in turn always took at least the time necessary to say a gracious word of my work and services as a Member so that a very large number of my congressional constituents will always remember that "Mr. Speaker" spoke kind words to them about their very own Congressman.

Mr. Speaker, in closing my entirely inadequate remarks, may I respectfully state that the best and most permanent and most appropriate tribute we can make to our beloved friend and distinguished departed Speaker and leader, is that we ourselves, exemplify his fairness and his affection for people and his love of his duty and his bigness of heart and his granitelike character and his love of mankind and his decency of action and his righteousness of thought and attitude toward the Creator of all mankind.

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Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, I join with the membership of this House and, in fact, with the citizens of the United States whom we represent to pay tribute to the memory of a great American, SAM RAYBURN, of Texas, late a Representative from his State and Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Mr. RAYBURN's 49-year tenure of continuous service as a Member of this House and a total of more than 17 years as Speaker are both unique in the history of the Congress.

All of us who served with him and all who knew him mourn his loss. The House of Representatives was served by him loyally and faithfully as a Member, as a great committee chairman, as majority leader, and finally as Speaker. Our Nation was served by him throughout his life as a patriotic American and as a noble man and citizen.

Not too long before his death, at the invitation of the Georgia Bar Association extended through me, he accompanied me to the State of Georgia, and there made the principal address to the annual convention of the Georgia Bar Association. He seemed to enjoy the occasion which carried him into Georgia, and he endeared himself to those who heard him and those with whom he chatted and visited on this occasion.

The impact of his wisdom, his judgment, his legislative talents, and his loyal devotion to his country will long be felt in a way which has caused and will continue to cause our Nation and its people to grow from strength to greater strength.

The people of the Fourth District of Georgia, including Mrs. Flynt and our three children, join me as I participate in this tribute and memorial service to our late great Speaker, and also join me in extending our heartfelt sympathy to each member of his family.

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Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable SAM RAYBURN, with honest candor ruled and guided the House of Representatives through a momentous period of governmental transitions and great world events that threatened the very existence of our Nation. Together with the legislative services of great legislators—contributed much to place our country at the peak of its historical greatness among nations.

There are few leaders in political life that hold personal friendships and party loyalty as a basic principle as did he in his political philosophy.

He was considerate of the problems of others and stood by, firmly, in support of the members of his team. This trait gave strength to his every effort to bring to a successful conclusion needed legislation of highly controversial import.

Speaker RAYBURN kept his stalwarts on either side of the House well in mind, honoring and promoting all of them. This he could do because of his long experience and familiar knowledge of the fitness of Members of their respective legislative duties. He had implicit confidence in their respective abilities to relieve the Speaker of his heavy burdens. He commanded such high respect of the membership that, upon taking the floor in debate in support of critical legislation, he turned defeat into victory. No one can deny that he was the Mr. Democrat of the Nation.

He was alerted and informed in every phase of legislation and had firsthand knowledge of the most intricate political situations that in cause or effect spelled telling influence upon the business of the House. Mr. SAM knew everything.

His simple approach and distinctively straight and direct thinking upon complex problems confronting the Nation edified even those of the opposition.

His leadership measured in its effects, especially in the field of welfare, changed the destiny of millions of Americans—giving each a new hope, a new ambition, and a renewed will to seek a better life. His memory is honored by his surging strength of realistic patriotism, through a persistent policy of greater protective national defense, to make America the strongest nation, militarily and economically, among the nations of the world.

The American people love and venerate his name. The memory of his greatness will live on through the ages in our land. His every expression bespeaks the philosophy of the common man. He was strong in the support of legislation to aid liberty-loving nations.

The rules of the House and established precedent of rulings in previous sessions on matters affecting the House business, were as basic to him as his Biblical teachings.

God has seen fit to take him beyond the gate of mortality to the future destiny of his soul. May he be blessed to enter the portals of immortality in the life beyond. To us, his immortality rests in the hearts and minds of his countrymen and future generations preserved in the monuments of our time.

A Texas Eagle with wings outspread
Flew to other shores;
It was God's will 'twas said
When soul this world abhors.

To leave this troubled teeming earth
And seek more restful shores
Far from its selfish turmoil
And man's ungracious chores.

A giant of thought and noble mien
Who followed Godly Justice
And brooked no plan or scheme
To mitigate against us.

He gave God's gifts to others
That none may rise to rule
So men may live like brothers
Not as charlatans and fools.

He drew the sword of righteousness
Against the poisoned minds
And struck down the subversive
Whose hate for God was blind.

His balanced thoughts on biblical beam
With the lordly touch of truth
To feed man's fires of freedom's dream
That "isms" take not root.

So shall he live with glorious deeds
And let his record stand
For others blind to freedom's needs
In this a sacred land.

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Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in the House, indeed I join all America, in paying tribute to the memory of our late beloved Speaker. This eminent American, whose influence upon the American scene was so great, had a strong hold upon the affections of every citizen. His passing leaves a great void in all of our hearts.

When I reflect upon the qualities which made SAM RAYBURN one of our great statesmen, I think of many but two in particular stand out. One was his consideration and sense of fairness to others and the second was his great love for this House and his unswerving efforts to preserve its dignity and prestige.

One of my warm personal memories of Sam Rayburn is the friendship and encouragement he gave to me when I entered these halls—a raw freshman member of the opposition party, with a feeling of considerable awe for the power and remoteness of the distinguished Speaker. Sam Rayburn, however, went out of his way to make me feel at home and he reinforced this feeling throughout the years with his kindness, his consideration and his unwavering fairness in judging matters where partisan considerations involving the conduct of House business were involved. The great prestige he gave to his office was the sum total of the dignity, friendliness, and even treatment he accorded Members of both parties in his day-to-day dealings with them.

Just as Sam Rayburn won prestige for the office he held longer than any man in our history, so did his actions protect and preserve the historical prestige and dignity of this body. His love for this House became one of his best-known characteristics and he may perhaps be longest remembered for his unceasing efforts to assure that this body always spoke with a strong voice, a reasonable voice and a responsible voice. He understood that representative government is always under attack and he was determined that this House, one of the world's great representative bodies, would meet its responsibilities, not only with dispatch and with intelligence, but with dignity. Now that he is gone, we can pay him no finer tribute than by so conducting ourselves that we, too, preserve and protect this Chamber and its reputation.

Sam Rayburn will live in American history as a great statesman and a great American. We who served with him will remember him as a great friend and a great Speaker who taught us to love this House as he did.

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Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join in tribute to a great American, the late Speaker, Sam Rayburn.

Those of us who came to the House in the 87th Congress had the privilege of serving with him only one session, and yet in that brief time I am certain each of us developed the same respect and affection held by those of you who had the good fortune of serving with him for many years. Mr. RAYBURN's abilities, plus his unlimited willingness to help new Members adjust themselves to the complexities of services in the House, were invaluable to me, as they were to us all.

Above and beyond this, Mr. RAYBURN treated each Member of the House not as a junior or neophyte, as certainly I was in this first session, but rather as a Member of the House, representing half a million Americans with a voice in the Government equal to each of the other Members.

On or off the floor, he was an inspiration to those who served with him. History will record him as the greatest American to have been a product of our branch of the Government.

As a man, my life is richer because of my association with this notable gentleman; as a legislator, I believe I am better able to cope with the problems that face me because of it.

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Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, sadness prevails today as it has for the past few months ever since the Nation learned of the tragic illness of one of the greatest men in our Nation. We, who were fortunate indeed to serve with Mr. RAYBURN, will never forget the deep impression left upon us by our beloved Speaker.

We pay tribute to Mr. SAM and know that history will be kind to the man who served as Speaker of this House for twice the time of that served by any Speaker preceding him.

I shall always recall my first days in this House and I shall always be grateful that they came in that period of history when the distinguished Member from Texas was serving as Speaker, for by his very presence he inspired us; in his wisdom he counseled us, and by his words he encouraged us. He has helped me and many hundreds of other Members find our proper place in the great legislative body. If we have succeeded, it is in large measure—in my case, at least—and I am certain, in the instance of so many others—because of the leadership and the guidance of Mr. Rayburn. If we have found satisfaction in our service in this House, it is because he has guided us. I cannot count the times he has paused in his day to counsel me and to encourage me.

I know our Nation is grateful and fortunate that out of the great State of Texas came to the House more than four decades ago a man possessing the wisdom and the courage to guide the United States through its most crucial years. His imprint on the history of the United States is great indeed, and it is reflected in the glory of our country. Mr. Rayburn is gone but will never be forgotten.

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Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, it was a rare privilege to have had the opportunity to serve in the House of Representatives with our late Speaker, the Honorable Sam Rayburn, of Texas. His long and impressive service in this Chamber will certainly rank as one of the historical highlights of the 20th century.

His fierce patriotism for his Nation is a matter of record, as is the durable imprint he has left on our Federal Government.

In addition to having served nearly a half century in the House of Representatives and as Speaker twice as long as anyone else, Speaker Rayburn distinguished himself through his outstanding leadership that was sparked by undisputed strength and effectiveness. He piloted this body of Congress through many challenges and emergencies, standing always as the strong protector of its powers and integrity.

I am sure he would want us to remember always his great love for the U.S. House of Representatives.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the loss of SAM RAYBURN has filled this House with a sorrow reflecting the grief of the American people as a whole.

Everyone familiar with the American political scene over the past half century has been familiar with the name of SAM RAYBURN—a name so generally revered as to bewilder the student of politics.

A look at the record of this remarkable man is all that is required to understand his phenomenal popularity. A reformer, yes. But one to whom reform was justifiable only in instances when it was not necessary, in the process, to burn the house to the ground. Moreover, despite his reputation as a politician, par excellence, he in no way employed any of the methods generally associated with that grossly misunderstood term. He was, beyond question, the prototype of the southern gentleman in politics, and as such was respected on every hand.

In the days ahead we undoubtedly shall prosper under the leadership of Mr. RAYBURN's worthy successor. Of that there is no doubt. Yet the name of RAYBURN shall nonetheless be remembered for many years to come. For it is men such as he—SAM RAYBURN, the farmer-lawyer from the black clay country—of whom legends are made.

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Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, SAM RAYBURN was certainly, unquestionably one of the greatest world figures of our time. When future generations think of this era of world history, they will list among the great men, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, Harry Truman, Gen. Dwight Eisenhower, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, and Speaker SAM RAYBURN. He served not only the great State of Texas and the United States, but he was a world figure and a world leader. He served the cause of freedom throughout the world. He was a symbol of true representative government.

Mr. Speaker, I will always remember Mr. RAYBURN's love for and devotion to this House. He believed in it as a great institution. His life was devoted not only to this country and to the cause of freedom, but to the House of Representatives. He agreed with the Founding Fathers that this body should be kept close to the people and should be the people's most direct contact with their Federal Government. The people of my section of the country will always remember also the fair and impartial way in which Mr. RAYBURN presided over our Democratic conventions. He held the party together. He performed a lasting service to this Nation by being one of the all-time greats in the Democratic Party. This House will miss Mr. RAYBURN. The American people will miss him and his wise counsel will be missed in the Democratic Party.

Mrs. Dorn joins me in my deepest sympathy to his family and to the people of Texas.

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Mr. MOELLER. Mr. Speaker, the human language is a frail instrument to fully express one's deepest feelings as he attempts to speak on the life, the character, and public service of a great American, whose passing has touched all America.

My elders in this body, who were associates of the former Speaker, Mr. RAYBURN, much longer than I, have endeavored with their greatest skills and eloquence to speak appropriate words in eulogizing this great man. For one who has had the privilege of serving with him for only a brief period of 3 years, the task is even more difficult. For in that brief time we suddenly found ourselves in the company of a man whose political ingenuity, whose skill in dealing with controversial issues, and whose magnanimous character in dealing with personalities will remain unsurpassed in his generation.

Although I considered myself only a casual acquaintance of the former great Speaker, his brief acquaintance with me did not prevent him from listening to my problems and thoroughly understanding my concerns. I found that no problem was too small nor insignificant for such a busy man.

In the functions of his office, others have and can far better give him his proper and just dues. However, I was deeply impressed with his humble character and unimpeachable honesty; such attributes stem from one source—faith. His unassuming manner, his forthright integrity reflected the soul of a great man who lived close to his God. On one occasion, faith became the subject of conversation. He said, "I cannot describe it, I know it is in me and I live by it."

His life clearly demonstrated the power of humble Christian faith. We all feign, would emulate a man of such stature in the realm of politics and statesmanship but if one day it may be said of us that we, like he, were "men of great faith," we will have profited immeasurably by the life of this great American statesman.

To his survivors, I convey my feeble condolences with a conviction that their sorrow is made lighter by the beauty of his character.

❧

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, today during the course of these eloquent and deserving eulogies of the life and character of our late distinguished Speaker, the Honorable SAM RAYBURN, my mind goes back to the afternoon last November when he was buried in the little cemetery in his hometown of Bonham, Tex. The admiration, love and respect for him, as well as their sadness at his passing was clearly evidenced in the faces of all his fellow citizens of Bonham, regardless of their age, color, or creed.

As has previously been said, SAM RAYBURN was a truly remarkable and fair man, a leader among men. I shall always remember him and owe him much for the many nice things he did for me since I came to the U.S. House of Representatives. When I was first elected to the House, I sought his advice, which he gladly and patiently gave. I have tried my best to follow his advice over the years. I shall also remember the kindly and down-to-earth advice he gave on a number of occasions to the members of the senior class of St. Francis Preparatory School of Brooklyn, N.Y., when they came to Washington on their annual Capitol tours. They always looked forward to a visit with Mr. Sam. Let the perpetual light shine upon him.

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Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, the entire United States suffered a great loss on November 16, 1961, when the Honorable Sam Rayburn passed away. No place will he be missed more than here in the Halls of the House of Representatives.

Speaker Rayburn was more than a mere man—he had become an institution, an inspiration, a great leader, and a statesman. On November 16, it was almost impossible to imagine the House of Representatives without Mr. Sam at the helm.

I am thankful that I was elected to the House while Speaker Rayburn lived. Although I had only 1 year here prior to his passing, I know that I was fortunate in having the year. As a freshman Congressman, I found the Speaker to be a kind and friendly person, willing to take the time from his busy schedule to welcome me to this body, offer constructive advice, and, in general, make me feel at home. Multiply my experience by the hundreds of new Members of the House who have received this treatment and you have the picture of a true leader, the Honorable Sam Rayburn.

America has lost a great force, but Sam Rayburn will never die—he lives on in the lives of all who knew him.

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Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed fitting that we take time out from our business today to pay tribute to one of the greatest Americans of all time, the Honorable Sam Rayburn, who presided over this House longer than any other man in history.

So much has already been said in praise of Sam Rayburn and words fail me when I try to add my sentiments to those already expressed by his many friends and colleagues.

Sam Rayburn—or Mr. Speaker as most of us called him—was a Democrat but more than that, he was an American first, last, and always. He loved this country of ours with an unsurpassed intensity. He had profound respect for our Constitution which established a government of laws and not of men. Sam Rayburn honored and respected the law and it is through the efforts of great men like him that these United States have continued to be a government of laws, rather than of men.

It has been my privilege to know Mr. Sam for 9 years and I consider it a real honor to have served under his great leadership. He earned the respect of all his colleagues by his fair and impartial rulings as Speaker. Although he was a Democrat, political affiliation did not count when it came to recognizing the rights of all the Members of the House and discussing our problems with us.

Although Sam Rayburn served in the House of Representatives longer than any other man and served as Speaker of the House twice as long as any of his predecessors, these will not be the outstanding facts in the record he compiled. Sam Rayburn will be remembered as one of the giants of American history for the part he played in molding that history and for his contributions toward achieving greatness for the United States of America.

Mr. Sam was truly the most dedicated of public servants. He devoted his life and all his energies to making our country a better place for all of us. He will ever remain my example of a true statesman; a man of honesty, integrity, and outstanding ability.

I feel a personal loss of a sincere and true friend and the country has lost its greatest champion. No one will ever be able to replace Mr. Sam but his life will continue to be an inspiration for all of us.

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Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join my colleagues today in paying tribute to a great American who has passed into history.

In the short span of a human lifetime, he realized his highest ambition and became Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States. He is so indelibly a part of this House, it seems incredible he is not actually present here among us any longer.

SAM RAYBURN's career in Congress covered decades of history which helped to bring America to prominence as a world power. He served with Woodrow Wilson, Herbert Hoover, Franklin Roosevelt, and he was an integral part of America's expansion and development. The good people of Bonham, Tex., deserve the thanks of a grateful Nation for having the wisdom to see his talents fulfilled. Three generations of voters recognized his capacity for leadership and they willingly sent him to serve the Nation.

The qualities which made up his character and temperament will be models for legislators for generations to come. His loyalty to truth and a well-defined code of honor, his basic integrity, his ability to inspire confidence, and above all his sincere love of this giant and varied land are symbols of statesmanship which have been willed to each of us and to all those who will follow after us.

We have inherited a legacy of greatness. It is to SAM RAYBURN's everlasting credit that he placed the highest importance upon serving these United States with the best of himself. We, who are entrusted with carrying on the burdens of statecraft, will dishonor his memory if we fail to live up to his confidence in us.

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Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in paying tribute to the great and distinguished former Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Honorable SAM RAYBURN. SAM RAYBURN was a grand and wonderful man, dedicated and patriotic. His wisdom and devotion to the public interest are visible in the great legislative enactments which he fathered. We miss him for his friendship, help, guidance, and wise counsel. He will live long in the memory and affection of not only those who had the privilege of serving with him in the House of Representatives, but also in the affection of those who benefit from the great works he did in the Halls of Congress.

❧

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the Speaker on High has had the last word.

He has called home our Mr. SAM. Mr. SAM's body has gone but his spirit will preside over us forever.

Many will talk of our late Speaker's long, tireless, and devoted service. His successors will no doubt strive to meet the high standards which he has set. I doubt whether any will ever exceed his length of service.

But length of days alone is meaningless. What is meaningful as a part of the history of our country is that SAM RAYBURN used his long years of service to acquire knowledge and wisdom from a vast experience.

But the Bible also tells us that the mere acquisition of knowledge and wisdom weighs as nothing in the eyes of the Lord. It is the use to which that knowledge and wisdom is put that counts. It is in the use of his knowledge and wisdom that we find the real greatness of our late beloved Speaker.

He has been more than just the No. 1 man in the U.S. House of Representatives. He has done more than lead the Congress as a legislative body.

He has been guide and guardian of every individual Member who has served in this great body during the tenure of his leadership.

He has been ever ready to assist in the solution of any and every problem. In fact, many of the problems have been made to disappear because of his sympathetic understanding and guidance.

Here truly was a man who gave of himself without stint, to the service of his fellow man. I join all of our colleagues in extending our heartfelt sympathy to his dear ones whom he left behind.

May his memory be for a blessing forever.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, it is a high privilege, indeed, to join with my fellow members here in paying tribute to our late and beloved colleague and leader, SAM RAYBURN.

Considering the record and service of this great legislator and statesman, it is safe to prophesy that his legislative learning, wisdom, knowledge, and guidance will forever remain unsurpassed in the annals of our history.

In the darkest and most serious hours of legislative challenge in this Chamber, all of us have witnessed the great spirit of this mighty man enlighten and encourage this body toward the patriotic discharge of our full and common responsibility.

This Nation and the world is grateful that divine providence, in eternal design, granted us the genius of this man for direction, on this side of the Congress, in the fight for freedom's preservation through one of the most difficult periods of civilized history.

His wise counsel, sympathetic understanding, and friendly encouragement to Members of this body, over nearly a half century, will remain a byword in this Chamber forever and his great spirit can never be removed from the atmosphere of this Hall.

The greatest tribute we can pay to Mr. SAM is to continue to live and work here in his spirit and example, while we humbly pray the Almighty to insure his eternal happiness in His heavenly chamber.

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Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, today we are assembled to pay honor and respect to the late Speaker of the House of Representatives, SAM RAYBURN, of Texas. Our tribute to him is not offered merely in recognition of the high position among us which he attained and held for so long—longer than any previous Speaker. Nor do we gather to honor him merely because of his long and continuous service to his country here in this House—longer than any Member here present. But rather we gather to take note of all these things. So recall again the essential greatness that was in the man, SAM RAYBURN. He possessed a warmth of personality, a humility of spirit, and a quality of strength that is rare in men of this life. He was, in every sense, a great man; we honor him accordingly.

SAM RAYBURN'S life was dedicated, as Lincoln defined, "to the proposition that all men are created equal"; not equal, perhaps, in physical power; not equal in intellectual endowments; not equal either in moral fiber; but without regard to differences of race, color or religion; equal in the right and opportunity to enjoy the blessings of freedom in a nation whose laws and systems undertake to guarantee the equal enjoyment of every right to those who support and defend it. SAM RAYBURN'S life was dedicated to these principles for future generations as well.

Before I became a Member of the Congress, while serving in the executive branch, I remember well the contribution of Chairman SAM RAYBURN as the author and architect and ever vigilant guardian of such great measures as the Rural Electrification Administration, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and other so-called New Deal measures that perhaps saved America in those days from disintegration and losses which might have been irretrievable.

To SAM RAYBURN, too, must go a word of credit for his ability to keep us, the Democrat Party, a united national party. Under his leadership, election after election, Democratic majorities were won in the House even when we lost presidential elections. He was a Democrat, yes, a partisan one, who never lost the respect and trust of every member of the opposition party.

SAM RAYBURN'S love for his country and its ideals was certainly great, but no less great was his love and respect for this body. He served long in the Halls of this House of Congress and his love and devotion to this House and to its purpose grew with each day of service. The House has lost in him a great Member, and we, as Members of this body, have lost a great and good friend.

In our grief, let us take new courage on this day of sadness; with unity and determination let us move forward to the attainment of the goal which he set for us and toward which he led us, not only here but throughout the Nation and the world.

As we contemplate anew the humane purpose in the lives of men, let us remember that gentle spirit, now departed, and his purpose, and let us renew our efforts toward that end.

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Mr. LENNON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join in the tributes that have been offered today to our great and beloved former colleague and leader of this body.

Though I had known of the record of Mr. SAM all my adult life, it was not until I came to the Senate in 1953 and to the House in 1957 that I came to appreciate his true measure. To observe his able leadership, his dedicated service, and the respect he commanded was a constant source of inspiration to me.

No more capable and esteemed statesman ever served in these Halls. Mr. SAM's abilities could be lengthily extolled, but I feel I can pay no worthier tribute than to express my sincere conviction that our country and our lives are infinitely richer because Mr. SAM lived and served.

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Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, this is the first session of Congress which any present Member of the House of Representatives has ever attended without having SAM RAYBURN as a colleague. He preceded every one of us to the House—and he helped in innumerable ways every one of us.

When we spoke what was in our hearts in the last session, and told him how much we appreciated what he had done for us—the counsel and guidance and help and support and understanding he gave us—we were sorely afraid that SAM RAYBURN would not be back in the Congress this year. And yet we hoped and prayed that God would spare him for further service to the country he loved and the Congress he loved and the people for whom he performed so many great legislative accomplishments over the many decades of his service.

We have all been privileged to know and serve with a truly great American, one of the giants of American statesmen. His spirit pervades this Chamber and lives forever in our hearts.

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Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, I have enjoyed knowing SAM RAYBURN and my pleasant years of happy association with him in Congress.

SAM RAYBURN was a good man. He instinctively impressed you as an institution even when he lived. His judgment was excellent in arriving at a good balance for our times.

Presidents proposed plans in messages to Congress, but SAM RAYBURN knew the high art of implementing programs through people. His judgment was careful and precise in arriving at just solutions, molding and blending conflicting interests, and resolution of disputed claims. In this, by tacit and common consent in the House, SAM RAYBURN sat as judge and jury, and in many cases assessed how far and in what directions could go the various Presidents and sundry—and to him quickly changing—Cabinet members, and department and agency heads. It should be remembered that these officials did not argue publicly with SAM RAYBURN. He somehow seemed to be the spirit of the House.

I remember SAM RAYBURN saying of the House of Representatives: "The House is my life, and my love." This is true.

One of my friends and constituents, Mrs. Helen G. Ainsworth, of Pittsburgh, Pa., wrote me recently, when she saw SAM RAYBURN presiding in one of his last appearances as Speaker: "My, didn't he whack his hammer"—meaning gavel.

I voted to continue Speaker SAM RAYBURN's power in 1961 on the enlargement of the House Rules Committee vote at the beginning of the present 87th Congress. It was not a simple vote, but defeat would have moved the power in the House away from SAM's balanced judgment and moderate positions. On reflection, I am glad to be one of the three Republicans from Pennsylvania who made this vote of confidence in SAM. It was the right decision.

There are not many people for whom I would make a trip of several thousand miles to a town and an area I had never seen. But I did go to Bonham, Tex., to pay a last and friendly tribute to SAM RAYBURN at the services, as so many of his friends did, from positions high and low. He was a good and likeable friend.

I hope you people in the future who read this will realize the times of turmoil and times of drastic change, through which SAM RAYBURN presided over the House of Representatives in Congress assembled. We have come through safely and successfully, and I look ahead with a sure optimism.

The Congress, the Union, and the American people are stronger, happier, and more prosperous than ever before. Our laws are more just.

SAM RAYBURN believed this surely, and certainly do I. It is true.

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Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, to those of us who came to this House when Mr. RAYBURN was presiding, he soon became a legend. He inspired respect, and he took little time in letting us know what was expected of us—to do the work assigned, to abide by the rules and traditions he upheld so strongly, and to work for the best interests of the country.

I find it difficult to go beyond the magnificent tribute paid by Speaker McCormack in his introduction to the document of tributes published at the end of last year. All of us knew and honored Mr. SAM. We knew of his tremendous record in the Congress, and the many legislative battles of world importance into which he had thrown his weight. We knew his fairness as an arbiter and, at the same time, his loyalty to country and party which made him impatient of anything he regarded as frivolous or detrimental.

Not long ago, the Touchdown Club of Washington held its annual dinner, and mention was made of the many ways he had helped pay tribute to the sport. A particularly fine tribute was paid to him in the invocation. And once again, to those present, it seemed impossible that he was gone. His austere and yet benevolent interest was felt in the hall, just as it is felt so often here.

I would not want to end this tribute without remarking on the very human qualities he displayed so often. He was also a modest man, whose association has enriched us all.

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Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, few in the long history of our Nation have made a more lasting impression upon the House of Representatives than our former Speaker of the House, the late SAM RAYBURN. His place is not only in history, but also in the hearts of each of us who had the privilege to serve under him in these Halls.

Statesman he was, in the most noble sense of the word. But equally important, he was teacher, counselor, adviser to all of us no matter what our political party, no matter what our particular belief on issues which confronted us.

Not only in length of service, but in quality of service, he was without peer. He stood for what he believed, he fought for what he believed, and in most instances, he not only was victorious, but the rightness of his decisions soon became apparent.

The heat of argument, the smokescreen of triviality he never permitted to cloud reason and truth. He was a realist, a practical man who would not compromise principle. He believed in the House of Representatives, in its integrity, in its purpose and in the wisdom of the decisions of its Members. Some of that belief, some of that faith in the House has rubbed off on each of us. Our task here has been made a little easier, the decisions we must make a little less difficult to comprehend because of Mr. SAM.

He will live in our hearts, in our history books and here in these Halls of the House of Representatives as long as we are a free Nation, as long as the ideals, the principles and the beliefs he cherished so dearly continue to play a part in the lives of our citizens.

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Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, for all of us, the passing of Speaker SAM RAYBURN marked the end of an era. It was under Speaker RAYBURN's tutelage that most of us present began our service in the House. It was under his guidance that we absorbed the intricacies of the legislative process and felt the influence of the high moral principles that guided him throughout a long and distinguished career.

SAM RAYBURN aspired to be a just man, and he realized that ambition to the fullest. His integrity and sense of fairness shone throughout all his actions—in his respect for the rights of the minority party, in his warmhearted support for progressive legislation, in the courtesy he extended to all his colleagues. His high ideals, combined with extraordinary political skill and devotion to office, made him one of the outstanding Speakers of American history as well as an inspiration to those who worked with him.

We have double cause to mourn the loss of SAM RAYBURN in that we have lost both a personal friend and a great legislative leader.

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Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, much has been said today about Mr. RAYBURN and I certainly concur in all the fine and fitting tributes paid to this great American.

Few men in our history have contributed more to their country than did Mr. SAM. He was admired on both sides of the aisle for his absolute fairness and his devotion to the House of Representatives which he so loved.

In 1955 when I first came here from Ohio's 23d District as a fledgling Congressman, I remember well and with much gratitude his kindly courtesy and helpfulness. That pattern never changed. He was ever ready throughout my 7 comparatively short years of service in the House to be cooperative and encouraging.

May his memory be revered and his principles be honored forever.

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Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to join with my colleagues in paying this final tribute of love and respect for one of the most able Members of Congress, the late Speaker of the House of Representatives, SAM RAYBURN.

The long and colorful congressional career of the late Speaker RAYBURN serves as an example for all Americans who respect honesty, integrity, and sincerity of purpose in their elected representatives.

Speaker RAYBURN in reality needs no eulogy for his life was an open book upon whose pages were recorded for posterity in letters of gold his many achievements as a loyal citizen and as Member and Speaker of the House of Representatives.

From a personal standpoint, I count it a great privilege to have served in Congress with SAM RAYBURN. Although we were not of the same political faith, in my opinion he was one of the greatest living examples in this century of a public servant devoted to the rugged American ideals of honesty and integrity in the affairs of Government.

On this occasion, I join in the fine tribute being tendered the memory of our former beloved Speaker, SAM RAYBURN. I am certain that those of us who were privileged to know him well are conscious of the fact that his depth of character and intense love of country have enshrined his memory in the hearts of the American people. May his noble soul rest in peace.

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Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, SAM RAYBURN was a man I am proud to have called a friend. He was not only a dedicated public servant, but also a great American.

Our country is a better one in many respects because of his unusual contributions. The mere fact that he was Speaker longer than anyone in our history is ample evidence of his worth.

In mourning his passing, we can take pride in the fact that he did so much to make the United States a finer example of constitutional government.

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Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues in paying tribute to our departed Speaker, the Honorable SAM RAYBURN. It is with a sad heart that I do so.

We all know that he fills a place in the heart of every man in this great body.

It was a privilege to know this great American whose name will be enshrined forever in the history of our country; a man whose impact on the destiny of this Nation and free people everywhere can hardly be measured. Needless to say he was a Democrat, because he was known everywhere, affectionately, as Mr. Democrat. He was elected to the Congress of the United States from his beloved Texas and took his seat on March 4, 1913. He served with distinction until the time of his death and held the post of Speaker of the House of Representatives twice as long as any other man in the history of this country.

It has been a great honor and distinct pleasure to serve in the Congress with this great American—his counsel has been wise and his profound interest in the welfare of all the people has been an inspiration. To know him was to love him and to serve under him was to know greatness.

Mr. Speaker, twice in the past 10 years our departed friend came to the Ninth District of North Carolina and spoke in my behalf. I wrote to him soon after he went to Texas last summer, wishing him a speedy recovery and good health, and I shall ever cherish his reply which was written in longhand and sent to me just before he was taken seriously ill.

To his family and loved ones I extend my heartfelt sympathy.

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Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, Sam Rayburn will always stand out in my mind as a person of total humility and exacting honesty. These are the qualities which won for him the complete respect and admiration of all of us who were fortunate enough to have been associated with him.

He was to me one of the great examples of Americanism. In these days of increasing tension in international affairs, made more serious and complicated by domestic needs and domestic differences in points of view, Sam Rayburn could always be counted upon for wise and sound judgment in weighing the merits of an issue. He was interested in facts and how those facts could be related to the best interest of our country, regardless of what emotion, political benefit or self-interest might dictate. He bore with pride and magnificence the tremendous responsibilities he held in the third highest post in this country.

Sam Rayburn spent his life in the service of his Government. His record of achievement and fame is an enviable one; his method of performance one which all of us could well emulate.

The American people have lost an outstanding public servant; the Congress has lost a great leader. I feel I have lost a true friend. I extend my deepest sympathy to his family.

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Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. Speaker, a great American has left our midst. In life he exemplified the quintessence of public service. This House was his earthly altar, where he performed to advance the commonweal of his fellow Americans. Year by year the vintage of his wisdom improved, because he adjusted to the changing times and the exigencies of his day.

The speakership was the niche which he had carved with the hard toil and determined perseverance which ornamented his high sense of duty. This was the acknowledgment of a grateful membership for the high quality of service rendered by this great American. He revered the office of Speaker with the fervor of a patriot who had sought it as the zenith of accomplishment. On occasions he emphasized to me that he would rather be Speaker than hold any other office in the land. This he sincerely believed and practiced.

Although he was mortal, his legacy has enriched us even after his departure. Historians will keep him alive as an institution on the American scene; we who were his colleagues shall treasure the good fortune of having known and observed him in the great coliseum of legislative combat where he was a towering giant. The shadow of his fruitful tenure shall remain with us, and this is why there shall be no vacuum.

America has lost a great public servant, the State of Texas a revered son, and, as our Nation continues its trek to greater heights, the pathways toward these goals will bear the imprints of the Honorable Sam Rayburn, the great American, the towering giant among men of high ideals, the human whose earthly labors have enriched posterity with the great legacy which he has bequeathed to all of us.

To his family and to his constituents, I extend my most sincere condolences.

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Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that most of us, as we listen to the many warm and sincere tributes which are being expressed in memory of our dear friend and leader, are reminded of the personal experiences which we had with Mr. Rayburn which will be treasured in our memories for the remainder of our lives. While I had met Mr. Rayburn on two or three occasions before I came to Washington as a Member of this body, I knew that he could not possibly have remembered me. Yet he did make me feel good when he welcomed me as the successor of his late friend and my predecessor, the Honorable Orville Zimmerman, and proceeded to inquire about conditions in the 10th Missouri district, with which he appeared to be most familiar despite the fact that he had never been in that immediate area. He knew about our rich alluvial soil, the fact that we produced a lot of cotton, and that it was one of the predominantly strong Democratic districts, and he mentioned some of the personalities with whom he was acquainted in that part of Missouri. He seemed to want to impress me with the important job I had of representing these people, and he assured me that my first duty was to "my" people. How much influence he exerted upon my career in this House I will never know, but it seemed from the very first that his was the same kind of political philosophy that I had always tried to follow. It was indeed a rare occasion when I found myself differing with the things for which Mr. RAYBURN seemed to stand. On those rare occasions when there were differences, I never found it difficult to discuss those issues with him, and never did I experience the application of pressure. I distinctly remember one of those occasions when his parting remark was, "Do what you think is right, and God bless you." Another thing stands out in my memory, and that is when on various occasions he would allow me to occupy the Speaker's chair during a rollcall or quorum call, and on his return he would always express his gratitude and make you feel that you were doing him a great favor. Gracious, kind, and considerate—those are the qualities that stand out most in my mind. His sense of duty and obligation to his friends and his party could be described by all in recounting the personal experiences we enjoyed with Mr. RAYBURN. I will always be most grateful for his only visit to my hometown during the campaign of 1960, when he addressed an area Democratic rally. The graciousness with which he met all of the people, the manner in which he answered questions at a small press conference at which he put his interviewers at ease, and the time he was willing to take in meeting and shaking hands following the meeting—all of these things contributed toward creating the image which remains in the minds of all those who met him, that here was a man in whom we could place our trust and confidence, one who retained the touch of the common man, with no pretense or intimation that he had been affected by the honors which came to him from those in the highest places. I can pay no higher tribute than to say that no person outside my immediate family has had a greater influence on my life. His was a full life, the influence of which will be felt for years to come as we revere his memory.

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Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, on the death of SAM RAYBURN, the Nation lost the services and counsel of one of the great Americans of this century. The House of Representatives lost its ablest and most dedicated champion. All of us here today lost a fine and valued friend and confidant.

During the period of our late Speaker's illness and following his death, I had frequent occasion to ponder the consequences of his death upon the Nation and to attempt, out of my short experience in the House, to determine the source and basis of SAM RAYBURN's greatness. It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that the quality which, added to Mr. RAYBURN's natural ability and long experience, created the unique station in our Nation's affairs he occupied was his tremendous love for his country and for the House of Representatives. He devoted himself with singleminded intensity to the enhancement of the dignity of the House. Nearly all of his energy was concentrated to the end that the House should become a more responsible and a more responsive legislative body.

It was my privilege to confer with Speaker RAYBURN on Wednesday of the week in which he left Washington to return to his home in Texas for the last time. Even then, ill though he was, he thought and spoke of nothing but the House of Representatives, its future organization and its effectiveness.

The House of Representatives of the United States was for many years a much better place than it otherwise would have been because of Speaker RAYBURN's service here. And because of it, America was and is a better place to live.

Mr. Speaker, SAM RAYBURN's memorial will be found in the hearts of the millions of Americans who today enjoy an added measure of dignity and liberty as a result of SAM RAYBURN's long career of public service. There could be no finer memorial than this.

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Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep sadness that today we recognize the tremendous loss this House and this Nation has experienced in the passing of our beloved colleague and Speaker, the Honorable SAM RAYBURN. It was a distinct honor and privilege to know and associate with this great American. To him duty was just as sublime as it was to Robert E. Lee. His work and responsibilities as a Member and Speaker of the House were literally his life. No man was ever more conscientious and diligent in representing his congressional district and his country.

He left his indelible mark on the legislative machinery of this land. His influence was felt in every corner of the globe. Countless millions who never saw him in person respected, admired, and loved him, because they knew of his great desire to make this world a better place for all mankind. His life brings to mind a story Sir Harry Lauder used to tell about his boyhood days. This famous Scottish singer and comedian said:

> From the window of his house, he used to watch the lamplighter as he went up and down the cobblestone streets in Scotland lighting the street lamps on either side. When he first began to light the lamps, the boy could see him clearly, but as the twilight turned into darkness, his form was no longer visible. "But," said Harry, "I could easily tell where he had been by the light he left behind him."

The legislative leadership in the U.S. House of Representatives, through many years, is one of the lights Speaker

RAYBURN left behind him, one of the many monuments to his memory.

SAM RAYBURN was a son of Texas; a citizen of this Nation; a Member of Congress; and Speaker of the House. He possessed high and noble qualities. He was brave. He was courageous. He believed in his country and his fellow man. He had hope, faith, and love.

We can never cease to be grateful for the vision of that preeminent statesman, for his public service and his faithfulness to every trust.

Mr. SAM has heard that "one clear call" and there was no "moaning of the bar" when he "put out to sea"—no "sadness of farewell when he embarked"—perhaps just one august moment of tryst with his Heavenly Father and he had entered into the fullness of eternal life.

May the Lord richly bless and comfort his family during these days of separation as they look forward to the time of glad reunion, as they cherish the beautiful memories of a wonderful and fruitful life. Speaker RAYBURN's life will live on and on in the years which lie ahead. In the words of Robert Frost:

> Lovely are the words, dark and deep,
> But I have promises to keep
> And miles to go before I sleep.

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Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in this universal tribute to the memory of our late great Speaker, the Honorable SAM RAYBURN. I consider it a signal honor and a privilege to have known him and worked with him in the Halls of Congress during the past decade. He was truly one of the great men of our generation, and perhaps one of the greatest of all times in our Nation's history.

His passing has saddened all of us and is a personal loss to me as I had a genuine love and respect for him. We have lost a wise and courageous leader, a patriotic American, and a personal friend. His loss is being deeply felt all over the

Nation by all segments of our people who revered "Mr. Sam." He was a fortress of great national strength, a source of tremendous loyalty, and an inspiration to all of us.

It is sometimes said that while death destroys a mortal being, it presents him to us in boldest relief. The living man is often too close to us, too much a part of our daily life and activities, to be viewed objectively. Death, however, reveals him to us in his entirety, particularly the nobility of his soul and the value of his deeds. Thus, we can now visualize in its fullness and grandeur the unique and outstanding personality that we knew as Sam Rayburn. How rich and how beautiful was the life and the soul of him whose achievements meant so much to so many of his generation.

We who knew him personally and closely will always remember him for his sincerity, his unselfishness, his wise counsel, his able leadership, and his valued friendship. He was a man of keen intellect, a person of good judgment, and who had a deep love for his country and people. His name will always occupy a foremost place of honor in the history of this Nation, and of love in the hearts of his countrymen.

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Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join with you and my colleagues in tribute to a great American and our beloved former Speaker, whose untimely passing has rendered a severe loss, not only to the House of Representatives, but to all the American people as well. His great contributions will, I am sure, go down in history to mark him as one of the outstanding leaders of our century. I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks at this point.

Today, we pay tribute to a memory that is still so close to all of us that it is difficult to realize that it is only in memory that Sam Rayburn now is living. Sam Rayburn's life and career as a public servant spanned almost half a century in Congress during a period of great ordeals and achievements for our Nation, and he participated in most of them. He held the position of Speaker of the House more than twice as long as any other person.

But it is more for the quality of his service to our country, than for its length, that we honor Mr. SAM. His service in this House, both as Member and as Speaker, was marked by his unshakeable faith in the judgment of the American people, his loyalty to his own constituents, and his love and respect for this House, its Members, and its traditions.

Speaker RAYBURN extended to each of us at sometime in our service with him many courtesies and kindnesses. He was eminently fair, tolerant and understanding, and held the respect and regard of everyone who knew him. We are all proud to count him as a friend. This House and the Nation have lost much in the passing of SAM RAYBURN, and we stand greatly in debt to his memory or the enduring example set for all of us by his devoted public service.

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Mrs. GRANAHAN. Mr. Speaker, in participating in these solemn eulogies today for our late and beloved friend, there is happiness in my heart that we did not wait until his passing to express here on the House floor the high regard in which we held him as a leader and as a person—as a friend. We told him of our love while he was here among us to hear our tributes and recognize their genuineness and sincerity.

There is little to be said now which was not said then. The House of Representatives will continue to serve the people of this country and the cause of freedom as it served those causes during the many years of his leadership, for he imbued all of us with the grandeur of the work we are privileged to do and his influence will persist throughout our service here and throughout our lives.

SAM RAYBURN bridged the gap in American political life here in the Congress from the start of the Wilson administration to the Kennedy administration, and served longer in the House than any other American. Similarly, he served more than twice as long as Speaker than any other American. Length of service is in itself impressive. What was much more impressive, however, was his powerful influence in world affairs, based on greatness of character, wisdom, and love for humanity. God rest his soul.

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Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, the sadness of SAM RAYBURN's passing from this life will be with us for a long time. The greatness of this man was with us for a long time and the influence of his life will be with this country forever. His greatness and his place in history has been, and is, respected by all, from the man on the street to the man in the White House, by men, women, and children of every part of this great country, by world leaders and people living in far places.

SAM RAYBURN touched and influenced many lives. Those people who had the opportunity to know him, to work with him and to serve under him are better men and better women because of him. He exemplified the American spirit and inspired others to new heights of faith, hope, and patriotism. My own purpose in life and my faith in my fellow man, and my own love of country have been strengthened because I knew SAM RAYBURN. I am deeply grateful that fate guided me into a close association with this great American.

This country is greater because SAM RAYBURN did, for over half a century, exert influence over it. It is greater because he determined that it should be a better place and that it should have a greater destiny in the affairs of man. His very first speech before this body, the House of Representatives, expressed a philosophy which apparently guided SAM RAYBURN through his legislative career. He said:

> I have always dreamed of a country which I believe this should and will be, and that is one in which the citizenship is an educated and patriotic people, not swayed by passion and prejudice and a country that knows no East, no West, no North, no South, but inhabited by a people liberty loving, patriotic, happy and pros-

perous, with its lawmakers having no other purpose than to write such just laws as shall in the years to come be of service to humankind yet unborn.

This is the kind of country he helped to build and preserve. May God grant each of us a strength, a belief, and a patriotic spirit equal to SAM RAYBURN's.

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Mr. HECHLER. Mr. Speaker, one of the tests of greatness is the unselfish concern which a man shows toward those who may not appear able to help him. One of the real marks of Speaker SAM RAYBURN's greatness was the deep and personal interest which he took in young people.

I recall vividly in the early 1940's, when I was a young and green instructor at Columbia College and Barnard College, how I used to bring groups of college students to visit the Capitol and we would stop in to see Speaker RAYBURN. Whatever matters of state were on his desk, he would push them aside to talk, to counsel, to stimulate these youngsters whom he had never before met. Then from Princeton University in the late 1940's I brought other groups of students, and Speaker RAYBURN was unfailingly willing to devote his time and energies to answer their questions, to urge them to read and study certain aspects of American history, and to reminisce about his own experiences.

One day in August of last year I invited a group of high school boys and girls from Parkersburg, W. Va., to come to Washington. They were members of a newly formed organization known as the Youth Government Club. About 40 students accompanied by some of their parents made the all-night bus trip to Washington. They told me that one of the real highlights of their trip was the opportunity to see and speak with the Honorable SAM RAYBURN.

The Speaker was already suffering considerable pain on that particular day in mid-August. He had been silently stealing away to see the doctor and take treatments while he stoically remained at his post. Just the day before I had brought some more young people from Huntington in to see him, and to be photographed with him, and he remarked to the photographer: "You had better snap this in a hurry; I cannot smile much longer."

On the morning when our Parkersburg group was to see Mr. RAYBURN, he had a leadership meeting with President Kennedy. He returned after a strenuous meeting and as he entered his office there were many callers waiting for him, and telephone calls were piled up. He must have been in great pain. But he insisted on the chance to see the Parkersburg students.

As the members of the Parkersburg Youth Government Club and their parents entered his office, he arose from behind his desk and with great dignity advanced to the center of the room to greet his guests. Many of them he shook warmly by the hand and asked their names. Then he returned to his place behind the desk.

Softly, but with a touch of a low growl, he complained a little about his back. He told about having gone to see Dr. Travell, and he brushed off his discomfort by telling how lucky he had been all his life to be endowed with such a rugged constitution.

Then he described with striking detail the history and meaning of every important object in his office. He spoke feelingly of his plans for the Rayburn Library at Bonham, Tex. He made everyone in the room feel and understand the great traditions which go to make up the speakership of the House of Representatives.

Soon he shifted to a favorite topic: how to learn and appreciate American history. He urged the Parkersburg students to read biography, and he described in glowing terms the way in which the great events in our Nation's history will come alive through the biographies of its great men.

The morning wore on. The callers piled up in John Holton's outer office. The telephone calls, unanswered, mounted. But Speaker RAYBURN in his unhurried way gave these Parkersburg students a bit of the last measure of his physical strength. Finally, as the time for the meeting of the House approached, he arose slowly and bade us all goodby. The students did not dream it was a last goodby as they filed out.

Many times I have reflected on the meaning of that meeting which Speaker Rayburn held with the members of the Parkersburg Youth Government Club. Here was a man who dedicated his life to service to his country and his God. Yet he found the time, and summoned up the energy despite his affliction, to share the great gifts he possessed with youngsters eager to learn. Long after other tributes to Speaker Rayburn have faded, he will be remembered as one of the truest servants of the Lord.

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Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, because the Speaker is the elected choice of the House, whoever wields the gavel in this Chamber is insured a high measure of respect and regard. Despite the passage of time, however, it remains difficult to realize that we shall not be called to order again by Sam Rayburn—that we shall not have his counsel and friendship here to sustain us again as so often in the past.

I undertake no encomium on our late beloved Speaker. His service here will be a panegyric for the ages. My desire is only to record here briefly my deep sense of personal bereavement in the passing of Mr. Sam. It had been my special privilege to enjoy association with this great man in this House for a quarter century. Only a score of my colleagues now serving were favored with longer continuous close availability of his wise, straightforward, kindly guidance.

Speaker Rayburn extended to me countless courtesies and kindnesses through the years, as majority leader and as Speaker—and, of course, in his uncharacteristic but energetic role as minority leader in the 80th and 83d Congresses. All of us here know, however, that Mr. Sam did not play favorites. While he might admit to a slight preference for Democrats, his appreciation of the high honor of service here under any party banner assured an unhesitant hand of friendship for every Member.

The late Speaker held an unassailable confidence in the judgment of the American people. He was prepared always to abide by their choices. The people, he reasoned, would not be fooled for long, and poor choices would be corrected. He was a superb political strategist and tactician, but he did not countenance sharp practice. He insisted that a conscientious concern for the common good be held aloft as the standard to which all worthy politicians could repair.

SAM RAYBURN never forgot that it was the people who sent him here and kept him here for nearly half a century, through three wars, through years of depression and years of prosperity. He would not let any of us here forget this bedrock truth, and, for the enduring example set by his conception of the public trust, we remain in debt to his memory.

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Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Speaker, SAM RAYBURN was a man whose qualities radiated in spite of his quiet nature. He is greatly missed by all who knew him, and throughout the country, even by those who did not have the privilege of knowing him personally. I consider it a high honor to have served in the House with Mr. SAM as Speaker. He was a good friend as well as a great statesman.

His friendship can be truly appreciated only by those who knew him. His statesmanship, however, is evident to anyone who has lived through the Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower administrations and this first year of the Kennedy administration, or to anyone in future times who studies those significant years. Few men will leave an imprint as large as Mr. SAM's.

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Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, SAM RAYBURN made an indelible mark in the history of his Nation and his work enriched the lives of millions of Americans during his own time and for the future.

SAM RAYBURN is in firm place among the American immortals. Because of his labor, millions of Americans now are living better than their fathers and are assured of greater opportunities for their children.

A statesman, SAM RAYBURN will be acknowledged always as one of the shapers of the 20th century. As a wise counselor of Presidents, he was one of the first to see clearly the role, the burdens and the promise of the United States as the leader of the free world.

His name will always be linked with that of Henry Clay, who was the first to win equal prestige for the House of Representatives with the other constitutional branches of government.

SAM RAYBURN, more than any other individual, supplied the steady hand at the helm of the House, during exceedingly difficult eras of our history. He not only preserved, but enhanced the dignity and the effectiveness of the House as a vital arm of our democracy.

The life and times of SAM RAYBURN will attract future historians. His name will grow in greatness with the years. It is safe to predict that the essence of all that will be written and remembered about him will be: The United States and all Americans gained because he lived in and among them.

Surely, no man could have a better and more deserving epitaph.

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Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, the most divine and most sublime compensation of life is that luxury of enjoyment which comes only from duty well and faithfully performed. Certainly our late beloved Speaker enjoyed all the sweetest compensations of a life well spent.

I enjoyed his friendship for more than a quarter of a century and I shall cherish the memory of our moments together throughout the remaining days of my life.

SAM RAYBURN lived magnificently and by his life and labor he enriched the world. In the golden hour of his great life he passed from the Shores of Sound to the Great Realm of Silence.

Prompted by the impulses of sincere friendship, I join with my colleagues in paying a brief tribute to the man who meant so much to all of us and gave so much to the welfare of the people of the world. He will long be remembered by the simplicity of his life, the nobility of his soul, and the eloquence of his actions. By his life he exemplified all the fine and tender virtues of true manhood. He wove no illusions of grandeur on the looms of life. His life was a life of rich and rare reason. His character was a tower of strength, and his heart the core of his greatness. From his lofty abode he is looking down on this place in which he labored so long.

Although the great Beethoven charmed the world with the majesty and beauty of his "Moonlight Sonata," becoming deaf, he continued to compose the world's greatest symphonies. Although he was never able to hear the melody of his greatest composition, his "Ninth Symphony," it will live on in the music world forever. Although he was never able to hear the applause of the world—when he came to his last struggle with death, his last words were: "I shall hear in heaven."

So today, Mr. SAM "shall hear in heaven" the words of praise uttered here by his colleagues.

Those of us who are left behind can be comforted by the thought that we knew and loved him, and we know that a humble mound of grass in the land he loved so well marks the last resting place of our honest and faithful friend.

I extend my warm and sincere sympathy to all of his loved ones.

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Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with my colleagues in the splendid tributes which have been paid here today to our late, beloved Speaker, SAM RAYBURN. Truly he was a great Speaker—judicious and courageous, with the ability to strike straight through to the point. His word was good; his rulings were fair. In the history of this Nation he will be listed as one of the ablest and most sincere leaders this Nation has ever produced. Certainly the statements made here today by his colleagues show the personal feeling and love which all of us had for him, even in those times of difference of viewpoint.

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Mr. BROWN. Mr. Speaker, it is a great privilege, as well as an honor, to be permitted to participate today in paying tribute to the memory and services of a truly great American, the former Speaker of the House, the Honorable SAM RAYBURN, of Texas, whose untimely death last autumn shocked and distressed all American people, as well as all Members of Congress.

Divine Providence has permitted me to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives for 23 years with Mr. SAM, as we all lovingly called him. In most of those years he was Speaker of the House, and, as is well known, served in that official capacity twice as long as any other person in our Nation's history.

Speaker RAYBURN was a man of strong character, and even stronger faith in this Republic and its institutions. While his political affiliation was the opposite of mine, never in his long tenure of office did he use his high position for partisan advantage. Instead, he always saw to it that the rights and privileges of those of us in the minority were fully protected, whether we might have agreed or disagreed with his position and beliefs on the issue involved.

SAM RAYBURN was a kindly man. He loved the Congress of the United States, to which he gave his life. He was a good man. Never, throughout the years of our acquaintance and friendship did I ever know of him doing a little or a small thing. Instead he unselfishly extended his understanding, his help, and his friendship to all of us who served with and under him.

Speaker RAYBURN has gone from our midst to preside in a greater chamber than the one over which he presided here on this earth. Already he has become an American tradition. As long as our Republic lasts he will live in the fond memories of the American people whom he served so long and so well. In his going he has left behind for all of us in this body, the desire and the inspiration to try and measure up to the high official and personal standards he so constantly maintained throughout his lifetime.

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Mr. FINNEGAN. Mr. Speaker, as a freshman Congressman, my acquaintanceship with Speaker RAYBURN was necessarily very brief, yet one of the most richly rewarding experiences of my life, and I will be forever grateful for having had the privilege and honor of this association.

SAM RAYBURN lived his life as a man, a great man. It was not accident or inherited advantage that brought to him the true greatness which touches few men in any age, rather it was his constant dedication to our national principles of justice and liberty tempered by love and compassion for mankind. Every use of his position and authority was made with humility and respect for his fellow man, regardless of his station in life.

Though it was not my good fortune to have had a close personal friendship with SAM RAYBURN, such as was enjoyed by many of my distinguished colleagues in the House of Representatives, I have learned much from his excellent example and deeply feel the sharp loss of this strong leader and gentle guide.

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Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, those of us of the House of Representatives have possessed a special honor and privilege in that we were permitted to serve with that great departed American, Speaker SAM RAYBURN. While we knew him intimately, the entire Nation knew him well for his life is now a historical tribute to the vast good he did for this country.

The entire Nation respected Mr. SAM as one of America's greats, ranking him with the long lineage of those who have placed a steady hand at the helm.

With the passing of Speaker RAYBURN, America and the entire free world have lost a friend and stalwart supporter. But Mr. RAYBURN built well as he traveled the course of life's events and in this building he made certain that there were those adequately capable of leadership about him who would take up when he lay down the command.

It was my privilege to know Mr. SAM as a friend and a counselor. Many were the times that I visited with him about matters which were relevant only to my State or to me personally but always his door was open and always he was understanding and would counsel in wisdom.

I am confident that this House will long feel the presence of our late beloved Speaker. I am confident that this Nation will long remember his contribution to its progress and welfare. I am confident that freedom in this world is a bit nearer for his having lived among us. Surely this strength will remain with us to encourage us all as we labor in the time ahead that we will be better enabled to carry out those dreams which Mr. SAM made into realities along the way.

In this House, in this Nation, in this world we will miss Speaker RAYBURN. We must each one, therefore, be stronger and more diligent to attempt to carry through this loss.

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Mr. BUCKLEY. Mr. Speaker, on an occasion such as this there is little one can really say about such a man as SAM RAYBURN; an American, a Congressman, a Speaker of the House of Representatives, and a true Democrat. Eulogies to the career of this great man already have said it all. The feeling of the American people, both the feelings of those who knew him personally and those who know of him only by his reputation, has been set down for posterity in words far better than I can say. What little I have to say is this:

It has been my privilege to be a Member of this great body for 28 years. During that period of time I came to know and respect and cherish the friendship of Speaker RAYBURN both as a man and as a truly great leader.

SAM RAYBURN was a unique individual. He was that type of person who appears but once in a generation. He was one who by his actions and his words left his mark for all time on all that he came in contact with and in this case that which he influenced was this House of Representatives which he loved so much. Under Speaker RAYBURN the House reached a position of eminence as a legislative body. His effect on it will be felt for many generations beyond his own lifetime. SAM RAYBURN understood the House and its Members and the House and its Members understood and loved SAM RAYBURN.

I am proud to have been able to serve these many years under Speaker RAYBURN and I know I join with many others who say quite simply and honestly SAM RAYBURN was a great man, a great American, but most of all a great human being.

⁂

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it was with a deep sense of personal loss that I learned of the passing of our beloved Speaker, SAM RAYBURN. He has left a marked impression on my memory as one who guided me and advised me well when I became a freshman Member of this House. His advise was always excellent and wise, and I feel fortunate in having had the benefit of his tutelage in my earlier years here. His was a personality which made him beloved, and his eminent fairness in all his dealings are well known to all of us. We shall certainly miss him, but in respect to his memory we shall continue to carry on the business of the House with the dignity and orderliness which is our inheritance from him. My deepest sympathy goes to Mr. SAM'S family and to the people of the district which he so very ably represented.

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, it is a great privilege as well as a great honor for me to be able to honor today the memory and the service and the patriotism of the former Speaker of the House, a truly great American who now belongs to the ages, the Honorable SAM RAYBURN, of Bonham, Tex., whose untimely death last autumn shocked us all and deprived the Nation of a true, good, and willing servant.

It was my good fortune to serve in the House for almost 20 years with Mr. SAM, and it was from him I received much advice and counsel that always, without exception, stood me in good stead. For most of the time I knew him, he was the Speaker of this House, and I would like to say that no fairer minded man ever occupied the Speaker's chair.

Mr. SAM cared not whether a Member was a Democrat or a Republican. If that Member had a legitimate cause he knew that the Speaker was always willing to lend a receptive ear. His word was his bond—when Mr. SAM told you what he was going to do you could rely on that word and proceed accordingly. I never knew of a promise he made that he did not keep to the letter.

That Speaker SAM was a man of strong character is well known. That he was a man of great and strong faith in our republican institutions is even better recognized. While his political faith is opposite mine, I never knew of him to take advantage of his high position for partisan advantage. In his mind, the Nation came first, this House came second, and party considerations had to wait.

Kindly and good are overworked words, but Speaker RAYBURN was both of these. He was also a forgiving man and never held a grudge, even after heated battle on the floor of this House. His help, his advice, his understanding were always available to all of us who served with him.

Speaker RAYBURN was accorded the rare privilege of becoming an American tradition—a legend, if you please—in his own time. That legend can now grow even larger and the tradition that was SAM RAYBURN can be perpetuated for history. He has left us, now, but I would hazard a guess that he has gone to sit in a chamber far greater than ours.

He has left a legacy for all of us—his own high official and personal standards, so consistently maintained, to which we all must aspire now and in the future.

⁂

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, 65 years ago, in the quiet of an east Texas cotton field, a teen-aged farm lad named SAM RAYBURN decided he wanted to be Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives. That ambition, conceived in frontier America, was fulfilled in modern America. This week the House formally paid its tribute of respect to his nearly half century of service in the House, and to his 17 years of service as Speaker.

Before he was elected Speaker, SAM RAYBURN was a great Congressman. He sponsored the Rural Electrification Act, the Public Utilities and Railroad Holding Company Acts, the Securities and Exchange Act, the Truth in Securities Act, and the Federal Communications Act. These laws meant adequate electricity for rural America; safeguards against the concentration of corporate power; protection of investors from the unscrupulous few who would manipulate the stock market; and guaranteeing that the airwaves—which belonged to all the people—would be used for the benefit of all the people.

As Speaker, SAM RAYBURN was inspired by a deep sense of humanity. He was guided by mature judgment. He was the master of all time of parliamentary procedure. His reservoir of skills, insights, and friendships met the legislative challenges of the great depression, World War II, the Korean war, and most recently the deadly cold war.

I had the pleasure of meeting SAM RAYBURN on September 20, 1940, when he came to my hometown to attend the funeral of William B. Bankhead, his predecessor in the office of Speaker and for 24 years the Representative in Congress from the Seventh Congressional District of Alabama, which I have the privilege to represent.

SAM RAYBURN was a southerner by birth, and by heritage. Yet, he, as few men, understood the aspirations of the North, South, East, and West. He understood the men chosen to represent all sections of our common country. His personality was both subtle and straightforward. His mind was flexible but was unyielding in its dedication to principle and to fair play. Speaker RAYBURN was faithful to the Biblical injunction: "For unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required; and to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask more."

I had the privilege of enjoying the friendship and respect of SAM RAYBURN from the beginning of my service in the House. I went with him through many great legislative battles where I thought the people's interests were involved. We did not always see eye to eye. We did not always agree. Our friendship was bigger than the kind that requires day-to-day agreement or day-by-day adjustment.

Men who have known Speaker RAYBURN will distill for themselves, in their own way, some essence or central message from his life. To me, his life was a fulfillment, in our own times, of a pledge made by the patriots of 1776, when they vowed:

> And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

⁂

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, it was only a short time ago—on June 12, 1961, to be exact—that it was my privilege to stand here to join with others to extend to our beloved Speaker SAM RAYBURN congratulations upon his having served longer as Speaker than any other of our distinguished Speakers. I am glad we had that opportunity to tell him personally how highly and how affectionately we regarded him. Our words then were "flowers for the living" and are more meaningful than anything I can say now.

And with the passing of this truly great statesman, his own words and deeds in his many years of service to God and country, are more meaningful than anything I can possibly say. As the minority whip it was my good fortune to work closely with him. While we were frequently on opposite sides of an issue, he always gave recognition, as our Speaker, to minority rights in the legislative process.

His place in history was attained long before he attained the distinction of having been Speaker longer than any other. Whether or not he ever became Speaker, he would have attained a place in history. His election to Speaker was merely recognition of the innate greatness of the man himself.

I am one of millions throughout the world that mourn his passing. But no one can more deeply feel this loss than I. My deepest sympathy to his family.

⁂

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, we were all shocked and distressed to learn of the passing of our distinguished Speaker. I am certain that there will never be another man connected with the Federal Government during my lifetime who will enjoy the complete respect and authority held by our late Speaker.

Mr. RAYBURN, as has been stated on numerous occasions, held the position as Speaker of the House of Representatives twice as long as any other person who has ever been privileged to hold the position as Speaker of the House of Representatives.

I know and every Member of this House fully realizes that the Presidents serving during the time Mr. RAYBURN was Speaker must give credit to the late Speaker RAYBURN for making their programs a success. I consider it a high honor to have had the opportunity to serve under the leadership of the late Speaker RAYBURN, as he was one of the best known parliamentarians in the United States. He was also one of the outstanding legislators of our time and powerful in every respect.

The late Speaker RAYBURN will be missed by every person in the United States and throughout the world who was privileged with his acquaintance. His service as a legislator will be missed by our President, all the legislators in the Congress, and the people of the United States.

My sincere sympathy goes out to his relatives. Mr. RAYBURN will go down in history as one of our greatest statesmen who did as much or more to preserve our form of government than any other person who has lived since our Constitution was adopted.

⁂

Mr. WHALLEY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with my colleagues from both sides of the aisle in paying deserved tribute to that great American, the Honorable SAM RAYBURN. He served as Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives more than twice as long as any other person in the history of our Nation.

His patriotism and integrity has served as a guiding light to Americans everywhere.

Mr. RAYBURN will be greatly missed by all of us.

⁂

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, little can be said about the late, beloved SAM RAYBURN that would not be mere repetition of the consensus of praise, admiration, and affection expressed by all familiar with the life and work of this outstanding man. His deep sensitivity, coupled with an awareness of the aspirations and rights of people, provided the basis for the pervading reputation of greatness proclaimed by all.

The entire Nation feels indebted for his ceaseless work and devotion to the betterment of the commonweal.

Mr. SAM's realistic appraisals of the circumstances affecting passage of important legislation and his ability to find common denominators among diverse positions has gained him lasting distinction among the great legislative leaders of our history.

The best measure of his contribution is his indelible mark on the vast body of great laws enacted under the guidance of his invisible hand.

This plain-living, selfless individual was not an average man. His counsel was respected by all. Like an uncle he offered me sage advice whenever needed or asked. No greater tribute can be uttered than to say that everyone loved and respected this exceptional man.

Proceedings
in the
United States Senate

Proceedings in the Senate

THURSDAY, *January 11, 1962.*

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Maurer, one of its reading clerks, communicated to the Senate the intelligence of the death of Hon. SAM RAYBURN, late Speaker of the House of Representatives, and transmitted the resolutions of the House thereon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution coming from the House of Representatives, which will be read.

The legislative clerk will read the resolution (H. Res. 491), as follows:

Resolved, That the House has learned with profound sensibility and sorrow of the death of SAM RAYBURN, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Seventy-sixth through the Seventy-ninth, Eighty-first and Eighty-second, and Eighty-fourth through the first session of the Eighty-seventh Congress, having served as Speaker more than twice as long as any Speaker in the history of the Congress.

Resolved, That in the death of the Honorable SAM RAYBURN the United States has sustained an irreparable loss.

Resolved, That this House, of which he was a distinguished Member and leader, unite in honoring his sterling character, the ability, probity, and patriotic motives which illustrated his public career, and the grace and dignity which marked his intercourse with his fellow citizens.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect the House do now adjourn.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, on behalf of the distinguished Senator from Texas [Mr. Yarborough] I submit a resolution relative to the death of Speaker of the House of Representatives SAM RAYBURN, of Texas, and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 241) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Honorable SAM RAYBURN, late Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Seventy-sixth through the Seventy-ninth, Eighty-first through Eighty-second, and Eighty-fourth through the first session of the Eighty-seventh Congress.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now adjourn.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, on August 31, 1961, SAM RAYBURN left Washington on what was to be his last journey home to Texas.

On September 7, 1961, I introduced Senate Joint Resolution 133, to provide for the coinage of a medal in recognition of the distinguished services of SAM RAYBURN. Before referral to the Committee on Banking and Currency, 49 fellow Senators joined as cosponsors of the resolution.

When SAM RAYBURN heard about the resolution, he wired me, asking that no action be taken on it, saying he felt such medals to be inappropriate for the living.

At this session, I have conferred with the chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, the Senator from Virginia [Mr. Robertson], who for the past 29 years had served in the Congress with Speaker RAYBURN. I have been informed through the Treasury Department and the Bureau of the Budget that the administration has no objection to this resolution. The chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee has advised me that he would be pleased to bring up this resolution in the near future.

A gold medal for SAM RAYBURN is like "carrying coals to Newcastle." I can say this because I offered the resolution for the Congress to honor the service to his country of this great man.

The genius of this American democracy has been that we have been blessed with men like Sam Rayburn. They are the men who get the job done. Men like Sam Rayburn are the men who make democracy work.

When the Founding Fathers had finished their work of fashioning the Constitution of the United States, there was established a system of laws by which our people agreed to live.

Ever since, we have talked about a government of laws, rather than a government of men. But our system of government by law would long since have gone by the board, had it not been for men like Sam Rayburn; for Sam Rayburn respected the law; Sam Rayburn honored the law. Sam Rayburn served the basic law of this country. Therein lies the greatness of the man.

To understand Sam Rayburn, one has to appreciate the environment from which he came—the wonderful Fourth Congressional District of Texas. This is not said in deprecation of Tennessee, the State of his birth, the State which has produced so many fine Texans. I know the Fourth Congressional District; I know the people there; I know what Sam Rayburn means to them and what they meant to Sam Rayburn. Every elected official is a mirror of his constituency. He reflects, in the best sense, the considered judgment of the people he represents. A few great men magnify, rather than reflect; and Sam Rayburn magnified the greatness of his constituency.

I do not apologize for being a partisan Texan. All Texans are wonderful, by definition; but Sam Rayburn was the magnificent Texan; he was the tallest Texan of them all.

I need not review here today his public record; all Senators know it as well as I do. And when the record is finally compiled, the outstanding fact is not that he served his congressional district almost 50 years, or that his record of service as Speaker of the House of Representatives twice over exceeded that of Henry Clay. The record in which we are interested is a qualitative one, rather than quantitative. Sam Rayburn had the tough moral fiber and the intellectual tenacity to produce when his country called. And produce, SAM RAYBURN did—and in the grand manner.

Mr. SAM was not perfect, and he would have been the first to disagree if anyone had said he was. His limitations were human. He had his likes and his dislikes; but, overall he had a sense of the pulse of history and a ready recognition of what the times demanded. Whether the subject under consideration was a Utility Holding Company Act, a Rural Electrification Administration measure, or an extension of the draft just prior to Pearl Harbor, SAM RAYBURN produced. And it is by results that we judge a man.

Today, we are saying to history and to the generations of public servants who are to follow us in the Congress that SAM RAYBURN was a great example of the finest tradition of public service in the United States. He heard when his country called, and he knew how to respond. His legacy, his example of service devoted to his country, will be an inspiration to young men and women so long as the United States survives.

This resolution, calling for a gold medal in honor of SAM RAYBURN, asks that a simple tribute be engraved on the medal, as I feel it is engraved in the hearts of his countrymen: "For services rendered to the people of the United States."

This was SAM RAYBURN's record—a record of services rendered. We are the beneficiaries. There is no partisanship in patriotism; SAM RAYBURN belonged to us all.

He was a great Texan; but, most of all, SAM RAYBURN was a great American.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I move that the Senate stand in adjournment until noon on Monday next, in accordance with the order previously entered, and as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives, SAM RAYBURN.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 28 minutes p.m.) the Senate, under the order previously entered, adjourned until Monday, January 15, 1962, at 12 o'clock meridian.

Memorial Tributes
to
Sam Rayburn

Memorial Tributes

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on Saturday last the Democrats met in celebration of the first anniversary of the inauguration of President Kennedy, and also for the purpose of raising funds for campaigns to be undertaken in the future.

One of the best addresses I have ever heard in my life was delivered on that occasion by the distinguished Vice President of the United States. The address was referred to as a sentimental assignment. It was all of that. It was sentimental because of the close friendship which existed between the late great Speaker of the House of Representatives, SAM RAYBURN, and the present Vice President of the United States.

I was very much impressed by this address, which I knew, and which everyone in the hall knew, came from the heart. I ask that the address be printed as follows:

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE SAM RAYBURN BY VICE PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON AT THE INAUGURAL ANNIVERSARY DINNER, NATIONAL GUARD ARMORY, WASHINGTON, D.C., JANUARY 20, 1962

Mine is a sentimental assignment: to pay tribute, on behalf of all of you, to the memory of SAM RAYBURN.

Like many others at this dinner, including the President, it was my great privilege to walk a way down the road with him. For the Speaker, the end of the road came last November 16. But it is not the end of the road for the lessons he taught and the heritage he left.

Everyone who knew SAM RAYBURN cherishes the moments they shared with him, whether it was in the hushed silence of the House before the tally of a vote is announced—during the unvarnished talk of the board of education—amidst the hubbub of a Democratic convention—or on quiet walks around Texas' old Fourth District to talk to the men and women of those flat black lands he loved so well.

The House of Representatives was his great love. He was, at once, its master and its servant.

There wasn't anyone in the United States who couldn't see the Speaker, if they were willing to sit a spell. To the dismay of his staff, he made his own appointments—often on the back of an old envelope in his hip pocket. And he read his own mail. "When someone writes me on tablet paper with a lead pencil," he once told me, "I figure what he's writing me about is pretty important to him."

Authors for years to come will analyze this man who held sway over the House longer than any other mortal. They can turn to him for their text.

"You can't really say how you lead. You feel your way, receptive to those rolling waves of sentiment. And if a man can't see and hear and feel, why then, of course, he's lost."

Speaker RAYBURN could see and hear and feel. He was part of this good earth.

He furnished Democrats some of their most straightforward thinking and talking.

"I'm a Democrat without a suffix, without prefix, and without apology."

He was younger than any of us. There was one thing he disliked more than old fogies, and as he put it, that was "young fogies."

He knew the Democratic Party because he was the Democratic Party. Remember what he said: "I say that the Democratic Party is merciful. I say that it is humane. I say it is compassionate. I say it is for the people and the people know it."

When you think of SAM RAYBURN, you think at once of the plain, sturdy, homespun statesmen of the early republic—the men who worked with Jefferson and Jackson to establish the American Republic on the foundations of democracy.

If our Democratic Party is the oldest organized party in the world, it is because men like the Speaker have kept it forever loyal to old traditions—and forever alert to new ways to serve social progress and human freedom.

Let me sum it all up by saying that SAM RAYBURN was a man who was as old as Thomas Jefferson—and as young as John F. Kennedy.

The last speech he made to the House came the day be doubled Henry Clay's record as Speaker. He stood in that familiar well and said: "I have so much faith in human beings. I know that people are good folks."

In a reflective mood one evening with a group of friends he put it so well. He recalled how good people had always been to him. He talked of Flags Springs, the little town where he had gone to the one-room school.

"All of us are just a little way from Flag Springs," he said, adding, "You know, I just missed being a tenant farmer by a gnat's heel."

All of us are just a little way from Flag Springs. May it ever be.

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Mr. ALBERT. Under permission to extend my remarks, I am pleased to include a tribute paid to the memory of our late friend, Speaker SAM RAYBURN, by the Honorable Scott W. Lucas, former Member of the House of Representatives, and former Member and majority leader of the U.S. Senate.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF THE LATE SAM RAYBURN BY SCOTT W. LUCAS, FORMER U.S. SENATOR

Melancholy winds of freedom deftly touched the keys of sorrow as the people of this beloved Republic laid a wreath of tears over the bier of the late, lamented SAM RAYBURN.

One of the brightest lights in the political life of this Nation has shuffled off this mortal coil.

The name of SAM RAYBURN is one of the most illustrious in the annals of American history.

Throughout his long and distinguished career as a loyal and patriotic public servant he never faltered in his devotion to duty.

He never betrayed a righteous cause, nor a friend.

His keen judgment and inflexible integrity in national and international affairs stand forth like the solid rocks that guard the aged seashores.

His concept of what was good and what was evil was based upon the eternal principles of elemental justice.

He earned a lasting reputation for fairness and tolerance, and his heaven-born personality kept his friendship with people of all political faiths in constant repair.

To every Member of the Congress, Mr. SAM was known as a warmhearted Speaker who for 16 years wielded a friendly but firm gavel in upholding and defending the true symbols of democracy. No small portion of his unparalleled success lay in his unaffected simplicity.

Through my 25 years' acquaintance with Mr. Democrat I was privileged to observe these noble traits of character. I reached the apex of admiration for them when for 2 years I listened to his same advice and wise counsel in the Monday morning meetings at the White House while the Honorable Harry S. Truman was President. It was there that the Speaker, the House majority leader, Mr. McCormack, the late Vice President, Mr. Barkley, and myself, as majority leader of the Senate, eventually reached a program of progress upon legislative problems.

Ah, yes. If one could weave and fashion the matchless and inspiring words of the great poets into a garland of eulogies it would add but little to the silent gratitude and speechless reverence already given him by a grateful nation.

Today this great and good American rests in deep and dreamless sleep, careless of the whispering winds and the moaning pines. His earthly career is ended, and his mortal remains are securely blanketed through the years of eternity in Texas soil, the soil he loved and cherished.

So, to Mr. SAM I say:

Farewell. Recline in peace in this new and great adventure.

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Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert a letter I have received from a former colleague in the House of Representatives and now chief judge of the U.S. Court of Customs and Patent Appeals, the Honorable Eugene Worley. Judge Worley includes with his letter a copy of a theme his son, Sam Rayburn Worley, wrote during Mr. RAYBURN's illness entitled: "My Friend, the Speaker."

Because Judge Worley's letter and the theme are deeply moving tributes to our late friend, I include them:

U.S. COURT OF CUSTOMS AND
PATENT APPEALS,
Washington, January 17, 1962.

Hon. JACK BROOKS,
Chairman, Texas Delegation, House of Representatives, New House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR JACK: As a friend and former colleague of the late SAM RAYBURN, I would like to join in the tributes to his memory.

Many years ago he lent me a book of which he never tired called "Eben Holden." The enclosed excerpt, which he knew by heart and kept framed on his desk at home, sums up the philosophy he lived by about as well as anything could.

His interest in and affection for the younger generation was deep and genuine. He was never too pressed but what he could find time for the "young 'uns" as he called them. That his affection was returned manifold is reflected in a school paper our youngster, Sam Rayburn Worley, wrote during the Speaker's last illness.

At the risk of appearing immodest, I am enclosing the paper, errors and all, primarily to reflect the strong bond between two widely separated generations, but also because it would be mighty hard for me to better describe my own feelings for one who was so genuinely loved, admired, and respected for so long by so many.

Sincerely,

EUGENE WORLEY.

EBEN HOLDEN

"I ain't afraid.
'Shamed o' nuthin' I ever done.
Alwuss kep' my tugs tight,
Never swore 'less 'twas nec'sary,
Never ketched a fish bigger'n 'twas
Er lied 'n a hoss trade
Er shed a tear I did n' hev to.
Never cheated anybody but Eben Holden.
Goin' off somewheres, Bill—dunno the way nuther—
Dunno 'f it's east er west er north er south,
Er road er trail;
But I ain't afraid."

MY FRIEND THE SPEAKER

Mr. SAM RAYBURN is the type of person who makes you feel glad you're alive whenever you are around him. He has the ability of making you feel good all over, no matter what the trouble is.

Since he has known my parents for a long time, I have gotten to know him as a friend. He never uses the big words most politicians use, and most any person can understand him, no matter what their ages are. Most of the time, whenever Mr. RAYBURN came over, he would always bring me some gum or candy mints. He has great faith in the "younger generation," and he has never said a harsh or unkind word about them.

Mr. RAYBURN is a very smart person. He knows a great deal about the Government and history of the United States. But no matter how smart he is, he never makes you feel dumb whenever talking to him. He also makes you feel proud of your country.

He holds a very important and powerful job in our Government. But no matter how important or powerful, he is always interested in a football or baseball game or a boxing match. He's not only keen to be with, but kind and generous too.

He gave me a cow once and kept it on his ranch in Texas. When it had a calf he sold it and gave me the money. Through such business transactions, he is responsible for about one-fourth of the money I now have.

Mr. RAYBURN is now very ill, and some people say he won't recover. But as far as I'm concerned he will never die. He will live forever in the hearts of millions across the world, especially mine.

SAM RAYBURN WORLEY.

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Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the following are communications I have received from heads of legislative bodies of other countries, from Ambassadors and other diplomatic representatives of other nations, as well as resolutions passed by city councils and local governing bodies in the United States, and professional organizations such as bar associations and so forth:

DECEMBER 8.

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C.:

In name of the Honorable Chamber of Deputies of the Argentine Republic I [sic] express sorrow at the demise of SAM RAYBURN, whose passing is mourned by the democracy of America [sic].

GUILLERMO GONZALEZ,
Secretary.

FEDERICO F. MONJARDIN,
President of the Chamber of Deputies of the Argentine Nation.

EMBASSY OF AUSTRALIA,
Washington, D.C., November 21, 1961.

The Honorable JOHN MCCORMACK,
The Acting Speaker of the House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. ACTING SPEAKER: I have been requested by the Honorable John McLeay, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Australian Parliament, to convey to you and all Members of your House sincerest condolences on the death of Mr. Speaker RAYBURN.

I should like to add my own deepest sympathy for the grievious loss which Congress and the Nation have suffered.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

HOWARD BEALE.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
November 16, 1961.

The Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
Speaker pro tempore, House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN MCCORMACK: The president of the German Bundestag, Eugen Gersteinmaier, has asked me to transmit to you the following message of condolence upon the death of Speaker SAM RAYBURN:

"The German Bundestag sincerely share the sorrow about the death of the meritorious Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States of America, Mr. SAM RAYBURN. It gratefully remembers the merits for the cause of freedom and justice in the world which the late Speaker has earned far beyond the borders of his own country.

"GERSTEINMAIER,
"President of the Bundestag."

Permit me, Mr. Congressman, to express at the same time my own feelings of sympathy.

Sincerely,

GEORGE VON LILIENFELD,
German Chargé d'Affaires.

JERUSALEM, *November 17, 1961.*

MR. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
Acting Speaker, House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

On behalf of Knesset Parliament of Israel extend sincere condolences to bereaved family and to colleagues in U.S. Congress on the great loss you have sustained at the passing of Speaker SAM RAYBURN.

KADISH LUZ,
Speaker, Israel Knesset.

TOKYO, *November 17, 1961.*

MR. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
Speaker of the House of Representatives pro tempore,
Washington, D.C.:

On the death of Speaker of the House of Representatives Mr. SAM RAYBURN I tender my profound condolance to you and through you to the members of the bereaved family.

ICHIRO KIYOSE,
Speaker of the House of Representatives of Japan.

THE AMBASSADOR OF SPAIN,
Washington, D.C., November 25, 1961.

The Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
Majority Leader, House of Representatives, U.S. Congress.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MCCORMACK: The President and the Secretary of the Spanish Group at the Interparliamentary Union, Mr. Royo Villanova and Mr. Fraga Iribarne, have asked me to transmit to the U.S. Congress the expression of their profound sorrow at the demise of the Honorable SAM RAYBURN, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

In so doing, I wish to add the renewed expression of my own deeply felt regret for the passing of this great figure from the scene of your legislative branch of Government.

Please accept the assurances of my highest consideration and respect.

Yours sincerely,

MARIANO DE YTURRALDE.

ANKARA, *November 17, 1961.*

The ACTING SPEAKER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

It is with deep sorrow that I have learned of the death of the Honorable SAM RAYBURN, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States of America. The death of this illustrious American statesman is indeed a great loss. I wish to offer friendly and allied American Nation our deep sympathy in the sad loss which they have suffered; and on behalf of the Members of the National Assembly of the Republic of Turkey and myself, I send to you and through your obliging kindness to the relatives of the late Speaker our sincere condolences.

FUAT SIRMEN,
President of the National Assembly of the Turkish Republic.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,
London, November 16, 1961.

MR. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

May I express to you my sincere condolences on the death of Speaker RAYBURN.

HARRY HYLTON-FOSTER,
Speaker of the House of Commons.

SAIGON, REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM,
November 18, 1961.

To Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: It is with deep sadness that my colleagues and I have learned of the death of Speaker SAM RAYBURN. Please accept our sincere condolences and convey our deepest sympathy to Speaker RAYBURN's family.

Respectfully,

TRUONGVINHLE,
President, National Assembly.

PHILADELPHIA CITY COUNCIL,
November 21, 1961.

Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
Acting Speaker of the House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MCCORMACK: Enclosed herewith are certified copies of Resolution No. 208, entitled "Resolution relative to the death of the Honorable SAMUEL RAYBURN, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives," unanimously adopted by the Council of the City of Philadelphia at the meeting held on November 16, 1961.

Respectfully yours,

NATHAN WOLFMAN,
Chief Clerk of the Council.

RESOLUTION 208

Resolution relative to the death of the Honorable SAM RAYBURN, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives

Whereas on November 16, 1961, the death of the Honorable SAMUEL RAYBURN, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, plunged our entire Nation into mourning; and

Whereas Mr. RAYBURN served in Congress for 49 years, more than twice as long as any predecessor, and for 16 years he presided as Speaker of the House of Representatives; and

Whereas during his years as Speaker, because of his devotion to the best interests of our country and his great talents in the field of legislative processes, he was responsible for having enacted many measures which have been of inestimable benefit to the Nation and its people; and

Whereas "Mr. SAM," as he was affectionately known, had the respect and admiration of all of his colleagues, regardless of political affiliation, and he was recognized as the most powerful figure in Congress in shaping the course of national legislation over many years: Therefore

Resolved by the Council of the City of Philadelphia, That we hereby join the Nation in mourning the death of the Honorable SAMUEL RAYBURN, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, one of the most respected and devoted public servants of our time, whose passing is a great loss to our country in this crucial period of its history.

Resolved, That certified copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Acting Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, and the Members of Congress from Philadelphia.

RESOLUTION OF CITY OF FARGO, N. DAK.

Whereas the Honorable SAM RAYBURN has endeared himself to the citizens of the United States of America through his patriotic services to our Nation during his lengthy and distinguished career in Congress of the United States, during which time he has served as Speaker of the House of Representatives twice as long as any other man in our Nation; and

Whereas the Honorable SAM RAYBURN has recently been hospitalized and has been on temporary leave of absence from his duties as Speaker of the House of Representatives; and

Whereas the people of Fargo, N. Dak., regardless of political party affiliation, have a great feeling of affection, admiration, and wholesome respect for the beloved SAM RAYBURN: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Board of City Commissioners of the City of Fargo, on behalf of the people of Fargo, does hereby wish to express deep affection, admiration, and respect for the Honorable SAM RAYBURN, our beloved Speaker, and does hereby wish him a speedy recovery and an early return to his post as the Speaker of the House of Representatives where he has been performing so magnificently on behalf of the people of the United States of America; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be made a part of the permanent records of the Board of City Commissioners of the City of Fargo, and that Mayor Herschel Lashkowitz, president of the board of city commissioners, be authorized and directed to transmit the herein resolution, with an appropriate covering letter, to the Honorable SAM RAYBURN, the Honorable John W. McCormack, majority leader, and the Honorable Charles Halleck, minority leader, of the House of Representatives of the United States.

HERSCHEL LASHKOWITZ,
Mayor and President, Board of City Commissioners, City of Fargo, N. Dak.

Whereas SAM RAYBURN at the height of his career as an outstanding Democrat and world leader has answered the great call and is no longer with us; and

Whereas the South and entire Nation deeply mourn his passing; and

Whereas democratic government and especially the Democratic Party has lost a great leader; and

Whereas he was born in the neighboring State of Tennessee and was a true southerner: Therefore be it hereby

Resolved, That the Etowah County Bar Association, through this committee duly appointed by its president, Hon. Rowan Bone, deeply mourns the passing of our friend and leader Speaker SAM RAYBURN, of Texas, and extend to his family our deepest sympathy; be it further

Resolved, That we now call upon our leaders, Senators, and Congressmen, to rededicate themselves to a life of public service as our departed friend Speaker SAM RAYBURN dedicated his life; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be spread upon the minutes of this organization, and a copy to be delivered to the newspapers, and that a copy be sent to the family of Hon. SAM RAYBURN.

Done this 16th day of November 1961.

WILLIAM W. RAYBURN,
Chairman, Resolution Committee.

⁂

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President on behalf of my colleague, the junior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pell] and myself, I present, for appropriate reference, a resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations upon the death of Congressman SAMUEL TALIAFERRO RAYBURN. This resolution was passed by the general assembly at the January session, A.D. 1962, and approved by the Governor on the 11th day of January 1962.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to lie on the table, as follows:

HOUSE RESOLUTION 1094

Resolution of the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations upon the death of Congressman SAMUEL TALIAFERRO RAYBURN, for two decades Speaker of the House of Representatives in Washington, D.C.

Upon November 16, 1961, there died SAMUEL TALIAFERRO RAYBURN, for two decades Speaker of the House of Representatives in Washington, D.C.

He was 79 years old and had been a Representative from the Fourth District of Texas for 49 years. Pioneer Sam Rayburn was one of the last of a generation of American politicians whose early life was spent in pioneer surroundings, settling on politics as a career early in life. His life revolved around the House and national politics. Long before he left Washington for the last time, he had said, "I am satisfied. My political career has climaxed everything I ever hoped or trusted it might be, so that when I leave here I will leave without any regrets."

The Nation mourns his passing—one of the great leaders of all time—and in this evaluation of his highly specialized prestige, the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations adds its acclaim; directing the secretary of state to transmit to the next of kin a duly certified copy of this resolution.

*

Concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of Arizona:

"House Concurrent Resolution 12

"Concurrent resolution on the death of the Honorable Sam Rayburn

"On the 16th day of November 1961, at the age of 79 years, the Honorable Sam Rayburn quietly passed away in Bonham, Tex.

"The Honorable Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States for almost two decades, was a great American. His achievements as an American statesman will undoubtedly stand as a monument for many years in the future.

"Sam Rayburn served in the Congress of the United States for more than 48 consecutive years. The citizens of Texas recognized his greatness and afforded him the opportunity not only to serve Texas but the Nation.

"Speaker Sam Rayburn had all of the human characteristics of greatness. He had integrity, maturity, wisdom, humility, and a kindness for his fellow man. His passing is a very real loss to every citizen in the United States: Therefore be it

"Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Arizona (the Senate concurring):

"1. That the members of the Arizona State Legislature, on behalf of all of the people of the State, wish to express their regret at the passing of the Honorable Sam Rayburn, an eminent and distinguished citizen of our Nation. His passing has saddened all of our people but the memory of his achievements shall remain for many years.

"2. That the Honorable Wesley Bolin, Secretary of State of Arizona, is directed to transmit a certified copy of this resolution to each of the following: The President of the United States; the President of the U.S. Senate; the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives; the Governor of the State of Texas; the president of the Texas State Senate; and the speaker of the Texas State House of Representatives."

⁂

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the previous order heretofore agreed to, the articles which I referred to are as follows:

[From the Houston Chronicle, Oct. 11, 1961]

MY YEARS WITH MR. SAM: TEXAN SET MORE RECORDS THAN ANY OTHER IN CONGRESS

(By Bascom N. Timmons)

(The lives of two Washingtonians have run almost parallel for nearly half a century—those of Speaker SAM RAYBURN and of newsman Bascom N. Timmons. Following is the first of series by the veteran reporter.)

WASHINGTON.—For many years I have thought of SAM RAYBURN as indomitable, indestructible, and imperishable.

I came to regard him as indomitable in the early days of our friendship when he came to Washington a stockily built, wavy-haired young man just 2 months past his 31st birthday to take the oath as Representative from the Fourth Texas Congressional District.

I came to think of him as indestructible and imperishable in his long congressional service as he broke record after record. First it was Henry Clay's tenure as Speaker; RAYBURN more than doubled it. Then he surpassed by more than 2 years the longest previous continuous service in the House.

When he entered a hospital at Dallas in his critical illness Mr. SAM had been in Congress 48 years, 6 months, and 3 days.

He set other marks, too, such as being the Democrat to preside as permanent chairman over the most Democratic National Conventions. There have been 12 presidential elections and 8 Presidents since he came to Washington. He was a colleague of more than 3,000 House Members. Nearly half of the present Senators served with him in the House.

Except for Senator Carl Hayden, of Arizona, who came to Washington a few months prior to RAYBURN, no person remains in public life who was here when the Texan arrived in 1913.

Annual Federal expenditures in RAYBURN's first year in Congress were $724,511,963. They will be more than 100 times that this fiscal year. Federal receipts for the fiscal year were $724,111,230; there was a deficit of $400,733.

I preceded SAM RAYBURN to Washington by 8 months. My first big assignment here however, was to cover the first inauguration of Woodrow Wilson on March 4, 1913. It was RAYBURN's first day too.

Marching with the West Point cadets that day was young Cpl. Dwight D. Eisenhower, who became the first native-born Texan ever to be President. I shared with Eisenhower and RAYBURN at least one thing—we came from adjoining north Texas counties, RAYBURN was from Fannin County, Eisenhower from Grayson, and I from Collin.

RAYBURN did not take the oath of office until April 7, 1913, when President Wilson convened the New Freedom session of Congress.

INDUCTED BY CLARK

Speaker Champ Clark administered the oath to RAYBURN as he entered the House which contained men who would make headlines for four decades and more.

The future congressional celebrities who accompanied RAYBURN over the threshold of history that day and the members already there had the makings of:

Two future Vice Presidents: Garner and Barkley.

Five future Speakers: Gillette, Garner, Rainey, Byrns of Tennessee, and RAYBURN.

Six Cabinet members: Burleson, Glass, Good, Shackelford, Palmer, Hull.

Four tariff bill authors: Payne, Underwood, Fordney, and Hawley.

An antitrust law author: Clayton.

An 8-hour-day creator: Adamson.

The prohibition amendment and enforcement act writer: Volstead.

The Federal Reserve Act architect: Glass.

The writer of the largest number of Roosevelt New Deal laws: RAYBURN.

A Supreme Court Justice: Byrnes of South Carolina.

A future Democratic presidential nominee: Davis.

MANY ORATORS

Also there were the last of Civil War Congressmen: Gen. Isaac Sherwood, Ohio, Union, and Maj. Charles M. Stedman, North Carolina, Confederate.

There were orators, such as Finis Garrett, of Tennessee, Daniel E. Garrett, of Texas, and J. Thomas Heflin, of Alabama, and great legislative writers such as Lenroot and Esch, of Wisconsin, Mann. of Illinois, and Sherley, of Kentucky. "Big Tim" Sullivan, of Tammany, N.Y., sat on the Democratic side and "Boss" William Vare, of Pennsylvania, on the Republican side.

Two alltime Republican congressional greats had gone down to defeat in the Republican split which elected Wilson: Ex-Speaker Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois, and Speaker-to-be Nicholas Longworth, of Ohio. But both were returned for the 64th Congress and Rayburn, though an ardent Democrat, cherished his friendship with Cannon and Longworth.

WATCHED RAYBURN RISE

As a Washington correspondent I watched Rayburn rise. He was fortunate that John Nance Garner, of Uvalde, who had been in Congress for 10 years, too, had a special liking for him. Garner was colorful, popular with both Democrats and Republicans, and no man was in a better position to obtain favors from the leadership.

He told Rayburn that as the House was organized then, the most powerful committees were Ways and Means, Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Representative Choice B. Randell, whom Rayburn succeeded in Congress, had been a Ways and Means Committee member and Garner himself wanted that post. He helped Rayburn get Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

The chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee was Representative William C. Adamson, of Georgia. Adamson became fond of Rayburn and another rookie Member of Congress, Representative Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky. He assigned to Rayburn a great deal of work on the Adamson 8-hour law, which averted a nationwide railroad strike in 1916.

Although Barkley was a notch higher in seniority on the committee than Rayburn, Adamson made more use of the hard-working Rayburn. Rayburn never had a committee assignment other than Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

He became the committee chairman in the last 2 years of the Hoover administration. In the Roosevelt administration, he authored much of the regulatory legislation put on the statute books.

His colleagues of his early days in Congress did not regard him as brilliant. But he was friendly, able, honest, industrious, serious, unhurried and calm. He was regarded as a possessor of all the solid rural virtues in a Congress in which nearly all the leaders were of rural origin.

RAYBURN made his first speech in the House on May 6, 1913, just one day before serving a month in that body. He spoke in favor of the low Underwood tariff bill, which was to go on the statute books repealing the high Payne-Aldrich tariff law. An amendment to the Underwood bill provided for an income tax in accordance with the recently adopted 16th amendment.

"As a new Member of this body, I, of course, feel that I should have regard for the long-established custom of the House, which in a measure demands that discussion of questions shall be left to the more mature Members," RAYBURN said. "But I feel that as a representative of more than 200,000 citizens of the Fourth Congressional District of Texas I should be allowed to break in a measure whatever of this custom remains, and exercise my constitutional right to speak my sentiment on this floor and refuse to be relegated to that lockjawed ostracism typical of the dead past."

OUTLINES AMBITION

In his speech, RAYBURN said:

"I came to this body a few weeks ago with childlike enthusiasm and confidence. It has always been my ambition to live such a life that one day my fellow citizens would call me to membership in this popular branch of the greatest lawmaking body in the world. Out of their partiality and confidence they have done this.

"It is now my sole purpose here to help enact such wise and just laws that our common country by virtue of these laws will be a happier and more prosperous country.

"I have always dreamed of a country which I believe this should be and will be, one in which the citizenship is an educated and patriotic people, not swayed by passion or prejudice, and a country that shall know no east, no west, no north, no south, but inhabited by a people liberty loving, patriotic, happy and prosperous, with lawmakers having no other purpose than to write such just laws as shall in the years to come be of service to humankind yet unborn."

SAM RAYBURN

[From the Houston Chronicle, Oct. 12, 1961]

MY YEARS WITH MR. SAM: YOUTHFUL SOLON HAD FEW DATES, TOOK NO JUNKETS

(Second of a series)

(By Bascom N. Timmons)

WASHINGTON.—Two rookie Texas Representatives, SAM RAYBURN of Bonham and Hatton W. Sumners of Dallas, came to Congress together and for years were the closest of friends. Both got good committee assignments—RAYBURN on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and Sumners on Judiciary. Both eventually became chairman of their committees.

RAYBURN and Sumners took adjoining offices 543 and 542 in the Old House Office Building, which had been built when Uncle Joe Cannon was Speaker. Each had one room, which he shared with a secretary.

RAYBURN got a Congressman's pay—$7,500 per year. (The Federal income tax didn't apply then.) He got an allowance for office help of $1,500 per year and hired one person at $125 per month. He represented a five-county district with a population of a little over 200,000. It was largely rural and made few demands on him.

He had won over an 8-man field in the primary and his majority, as I recollect it, was only 405. He was almost a teetotaler. Two of his Texas colleagues, John Nance Garner and James P. Buchanan, were the ace poker players. RAYBURN was not a cardplayer. He played dominoes at night with Representative Cordell Hull of Tennessee and other colleagues in the homey lobby of old Congressional Hotel.

He introduced Hull to the woman who later became the wife of the future Secretary of State.

He seemed little interested in women and had few dates. He took no junkets, went home when Congress adjourned and fixed political fences. He "always ran scared," yet when he had opponents he won handily.

RAYBURN in our early acquaintance told me a great deal about his closely knit family.

RAYBURN's father, William Marion Rayburn, had been a Confederate soldier who came home to Roane County, Tenn., and married Martha Waller.

Ten children were born to them in Tennessee. In 1887 the family (seven boys and three girls) moved to Texas and settled near Windom in Fannin County. The elder Rayburn used his resources to buy a 40-acre black land cotton farm.

An 11th child, a son was born in Texas. SAM, the 8th child, was christened SAMUEL TALIAFERRO. He had shortened it to SAM long before he came to Washington.

The Rayburns had rough going for a long time in Texas. They lived for 30 years in the little framehouse where they settled. In his early years in Congress, RAYBURN was building the new family home which became a showplace in Texas. It originally cost, I think he told me, $2,800 in the low building costs of those days, but it was modernized and enlarged. RAYBURN also added to his lands and eventually developed the purebred stock farm which became his great pride.

RAYBURN attended the little school near Windom, then Mayo College at Commerce (predecessor of East Texas Normal) and after 2 years of college taught school for 4 years. He ran for the legislature at 23, served 6 years in Austin, the last 2 as speaker, the youngest Texas ever had. In 1912 made his winning campaign for Congress.

RAYBURN told me that his desire to come to Congress was whetted by a speech by the great Texas orator, Representative Joseph Weldon Bailey, who represented the Fourth District which RAYBURN later was to represent. RAYBURN rode horseback in mud and rain 11 miles to Bonham to hear Bailey, who later became a controversial U.S. Senator. Bailey was always RAYBURN's political idol.

REACHED GOAL

His ambition, RAYBURN said, always was to come to Congress and become its Speaker; that he never had any ambition to be a Governor, a Senator, a President or a Vice President. Years afterward, in 1940, he did wish to be Franklin D. Roosevelt's vice presidential running mate, but Roosevelt tabbed Henry A. Wallace.

In the latter days of the Wilson administration and in the early days of Harding's RAYBURN with Hatton W. Sumners and Marvin Jones, Texas Congressman, and later Silliman Evans, a newspaperman, established bachelor quarters. They hired a famous cook, but RAYBURN himself was an accomplished cook, specializing in fried chicken.

More than 30 years ago he moved to kitchenless bachelor quarters in the Anchorage Apartments. He lived there all the rest of his Washington life.

He had become an ardent fisherman and it was his principal recreation. He had a hobby of collecting pocket watches, the most prized of which was one given to him by his colleagues when he was speaker of the Texas House. For a long time he was a collector of Robert E. Lee books and photographs.

STUDIED LAW

While a member of the Texas Legislature RAYBURN studied law and graduated from the University of Texas Law School.

One day in 1916, when RAYBURN had been a Member of Congress for 3 years, Speaker Champ Clark beckoned to the Texan to take over a seat beside him in the private corridor outside the House Chamber.

Clark told RAYBURN he had been watching him, was convinced he could attain any place in Congress, including the speakership, but that he ought to enlarge his horizon. Clark asked RAYBURN to jot down a course of reading. It included some writing of Thomas Jefferson, the biographies and writing of Presidents John Adams and John Quincy Adams, President Andrew Jackson, and Senator Thomas H. Benton. Clark also told the Texan to do certain reading on Presidents James K. Polk and William McKinley, and to learn all he could about the legislative methods of both Polk and McKinley, who had been distinguished House Members.

RAYBURN did all of the prescribed reading. Many times he, a convinced partisan Democrat, surprised me by admiring reference to McKinley, an arch conservative Republican. RAYBURN told me McKinley came close to being the ideal legislator and was a much underrated President.

There is little doubt that of all the Presidents who were in office during his long Congress tenure RAYBURN had the greatest admiration for Woodrow Wilson. In the first Wilson inaugural address, which he had heard as a freshman Congressman, he had found the principles by which he was to live, and the course he thought his party ought to follow.

Yet it was to Wilson that he revealed his qualities of independence. He went to the White House one day in 1915 to discuss with the Preseident a bill pending in the committee which RAYBURN headed. Wilson asked him to hold up action.

RAYBURN told the President he would continue to press for action.

"I'm sorry I can't go along with you, Mr. President," he said brusquely as he picked up his hat and left.

The bill sought to control the issuance of railroad stocks and bonds. The bill finally became law by Wilson's signature, but it was passed by a Republican Congress in 1919.

In after years when he had become a master at placation RAYBURN would recall the brush with Wilson as an evidence of his tactlessness when he was a fledgling legislator.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

[From the Houston Chronicle, Oct. 13, 1961]

MY YEARS WITH MR. SAM: YOUNG TEXAN WON HIS SPURS IN WORLD WAR I

(Third of a series)

(By Bascom N. Timmons)

WASHINGTON.—My closest association with SAM RAYBURN was in the 1920's and 1930's. This, I think, was because these were years in which we both had considerable leisure. For RAYBURN, that period saw his emergence as an important voice in his party and a very effective leader.

RAYBURN by the end of the Wilson administration had won his fifth straight congressional term. He nearly always had opponents, yet the Fourth Congressional District was selecting him more or less automatically.

He had won his spurs as a party wheel in World War I but his congressional advancement was checked by his party's lean political fortunes.

In 1918, midway in Wilson's second term, Republicans won the House of Representatives and held it for 12 years. The Harding landslide in 1920 swept even into the South to strike down such Democratic lights as Representative Cordell Hull, of Tennessee.

RAYBURN moved far up in overall House seniority and became the top Democratic Member of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

Representative John Nance Garner had become the big figure in the Texas delegation and during the 1920's Garner also became the Democrats' choice for their House floor leader.

Garner bypassed some senior House Members and formed a young strategical and tactical group; RAYBURN was the senior one. Others in the group were Representative Fred Vinson, of Kentucky, later Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court; and Representatives John McDuffie, of Alabama, Lindsay Warren, of North Carolina, John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts, and John F. Carew, of New York.

Frequently Garner asked me to sit in on their planning sessions, of which they had relatively few. Most of his high lieutenants worked directly with Garner. One RAYBURN duty was to keep close liaison with Representative Fiorello H. La Guardia, of New York, an irregular Republican. Sometimes (notably in the Mellon tax bills fights) the Democrats drew to their side enough Republicans to win important amendments.

RAYBURN also took part in fights against the Fordney-McCumber and Smoot-Hawley tariff bills. Of the three Republican Presidents who followed Wilson, RAYBURN's relations were cordial with Harding and Hoover and especially good with Coolidge.

On his visits to the White House, sometimes for Coolidge breakfasts, he said he found that "Coolidge talked enough." RAYBURN quoted with approval Coolidge's reply to a criticism of his silence. Coolidge said: "Well, I found out early in life that you didn't have to explain something you hadn't said." Hoover was "a grand man, a hard-working President," says RAYBURN. "I doubt if anybody who might have been President could have prevented the debacle of 1929, which took him down with it."

RAYBURN had less dealing with Harding than with any President who served after he came to Washington, but found Harding "gracious." Of Harding's ill-starred presidency, including the Teapot Dome scandals, RAYBURN said:

"I never thought Mr. Harding was a dishonest man. I don't think there has ever been a President of the United States who was a dishonest man. I think Harding was trusting. Some people who were not honest imposed upon him."

Republicans won their seventh straight congressional election in 1930. But it was so close that before Congress met in December 1931 (this was before the lame-duck amendment to the Constitution advancing congressional and presidential terms), deaths had so thinned the Republican ranks and augmented the Democrats that Garner was elected Speaker by three votes. RAYBURN became chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee for the last 2 years of the Hoover administration.

With Democratic control of Congress in 1931 began the era of RAYBURN's ever-increasing importance in party councils. Garner as Speaker became the Nation's top Democrat and almost automatically an available candidate for the 1932 presidential nomination.

The Texas Democratic Convention, meeting in San Antonio, instructed for Garner and elected RAYBURN his campaign manager and chairman of the Texas delegation to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago. Garner, in a three-way primary contest, won the California delegates, defeating Alfred E. Smith and Franklin D. Roosevelt. His fellow Texan's campaign was not too easy for RAYBURN to manage, as Garner showed scant interest in it.

At Chicago, Garner's strength never exceeded the 46 delegates from Texas, the 44 from California, and a few scattering from other States. But RAYBURN made the Garner candidacy a very important factor in the final outcome.

ROOSEVELT UNEASY

Roosevelt was far from assured of the two-thirds majority then necessary to nominate. Garner had told RAYBURN that he would not be a party to deadlocking the Democratic convention as it was in 1924 at Madison Square Garden.

The third ballot—all three taken at an all-night session—found Roosevelt short of the nomination, but Garner's Texas and California delegations could be enough to put him over. How to get them was a question. RAYBURN was for Roosevelt as his second choice after Garner, but it was doubtful if he could win the Texas delegation, in which there was strong sentiment for Newton D. Baker.

From Washington, Garner called RAYBURN and said curtly, "I think this thing has gone far enough." RAYBURN agreed, but he faced the fact that, if he could not win Texas for Roosevelt, forces of the New York Governor would begin to disintegrate on the fourth ballot. A long deadlock undoubtedly would ensue.

"Do you authorize me to release the Texas delegation from voting for you?" RAYBURN asked.

"Yes," Garner replied.

RAYBURN was now on his own and the keyman in the convention. If he could switch Texas to Roosevelt, California would follow suit, and Roosevelt would be in.

RAYBURN, who always valued an 8-hour sleep, did not go to bed when the convention, after an all-night session, adjourned at 9:15 Friday morning. His soundings convinced him that it was nip and tuck between Roosevelt and Baker in the Texas delegation and with many delegates determined to go on voting for Garner even in the face of his withdrawal.

TEXAS DOUBTFUL

RAYBURN felt the surest way to get a majority of the Texans for Roosevelt was for Garner to go on the ticket as Vice President. A conference between RAYBURN and James A. Farley, Roosevelt's manager, agreed that Garner could have second place. Roosevelt, from Albany gave enthusiastic approval, but it still was doubtful Texas could be won for Roosevelt.

The San Antonio convention had sent 180 men and women to Chicago to cast 46 votes.

Late Friday afternoon, RAYBURN decided to take his big gamble. He suddenly called a caucus of the delegation. The call was so sudden that only 105 of the 180 showed up. It developed into a howling mob scene. RAYBURN finally got a semblance of order and took a vote. The tally showed 54 for going Roosevelt, 51 against. What would have happened if the other 75 Texans had arrived, RAYBURN often speculated, but the 3-vote margin was enough to give Roosevelt Texas under the unit rule. California followed Texas into the Roosevelt camp to give him the nomination on the fourth ballot.

Garner had told RAYBURN and Senator Tom Connally: "I don't think I should give up the speakership for the Vice-Presidency." He never did say he would take it, but the convention gave it to him.

IMPORTANT FIGURE

RAYBURN, who had stuck so closely to his congressional job in Washington and devoted himself so exclusively to his own congressional district that his voice had hardly been a potent one in Texas party councils, came out of the 1932 Democratic National Convention a very important figure in Texas and in the Nation. Thereafter his shadow lengthened.

Garner's reluctance to give up the speakership was because he had won it only 2 years before, satisfying a long ambition. Garner was 62, from a district where he was entrenched, and thought he should hold the speakership as long as he wanted, and his party stayed in power. He thought the speakership second only to the Presidency in importance. The Vice-Presidency he considered "an office of little importance."

Garner's departure from the House, after his election as Vice President, opened the way to advancement for ambitious Democrats. RAYBURN and other Garner lieutenants failed narrowly in their effort to elect Representative John McDuffie as Speaker to succeed Garner. The post went to Representative Henry T. Rainey, of Illinois, with Representative Joseph W. Byrns, of Tennessee as majority leader.

As chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee RAYBURN pushed through more New Deal legislation than any other Congressman. He authored the Federal Communications Act, the Securities Exchange Act, the Rayburn-Wheeler Holding Company Act and the Rural Electrification Act, among others.

[From the Houston Chronicle, Oct. 15, 1961]

MY YEARS WITH MR. SAM: TEXAN HAD HARD BATTLE TO BE DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CHIEF

(Fourth of a series)

(By Bascom N. Timmons)

WASHINGTON.—SAM RAYBURN'S election as Democratic leader in the House on January 4, 1937, marked the high mark of his eminence to that date. It was a sort of birthday present, his 55th birthday was 2 days later.

He was in the excellent health he had always enjoyed. He was capable of working long hours. He was heavier and blockier than when he came to the House 24 years before and his black hair had vanished. He was the baldest man on Capitol Hill.

A movement for Rayburn for the speakership had been started by his House friends in December 1934, following the death of Speaker Henry T. Rainey before the Roosevelt administration was 2 years old.

Representative Joseph W. Byrns, of Tennessee, had been the majority leader under Roosevelt. Moreover, Byrns had been chairman of the 1934 congressional campaign committee and had helped many Members to be elected. They felt under obligations to the Tennessean.

Rayburn got out of the race in a characteristic statement of just 19 words. He asked me to look at it before he issued it. It could not have been improved upon. He wrote:

"I am no longer a candidate for Speaker. There are no alibis. Under the circumstances I cannot be elected."

Byrns won the speakership and Representative William B. Bankhead, of Alabama, was chosen majority leader. Rayburn evinced no interest in the latter post then. Pending before his powerful Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee were three important bills: reorganization of the National Recovery Administration (the Supreme Court later ruled NRA unconstitutional): railroad rehabilitation; and the future Federal policy on oil control, the latter being of prime importance to Texas.

Speaker Byrns died on June 4, 1936. Bankhead was elected Speaker, but as Congress was adjourning in 2 weeks no majority leader was elected. Representative John J. O'Connor, of New York, chairman of the Rules Committee, filled in.

Rayburn managed the Speaker's committee of the Democratic National Committee in 1936 when the Roosevelt-Garner ticket carried all States except Maine and Vermont. He announced his candidacy for the majority leadership, and found that he was the apparent underdog.

O'Connor had conducted an intensive campaign and President Roosevelt seemed to be in his corner. O'Connor as chairman of the Rules Committee had blocked some New Deal legislation. But he was a brother of Basil O'Connor, who had been Roosevelt's law partner.

Rayburn's campaign was managed by Representative Fred Vinson of Kentucky, later Chief Justice of the United States, and by Carl Vinson, of Georgia.

When it looked dark for Rayburn, Vice President Garner arrived in Washington and went to work for him. When Garner was criticized for intruding in House affairs, he retorted:

"I'm for Rayburn 200 percent, and I am going to keep working for his selection."

Representative John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts, announced his support of Rayburn and brought eastern seaboard support. Pennsylvania swung to him. With his almost solid southern backing he pulled up even with O'Connor.

The White House did not make the expected fight for O'Connor, even seemed to be on Rayburn's side. He won other northern and eastern support.

It was a bitter fight but when Representative Hatton W. Sumners on January 4 nominated Rayburn in the Democratic caucus it was only a question of the size of Rayburn's majority. Rayburn got 184 votes, O'Connor 127.

TURBULENT YEAR

Rayburn's first year as majority leader was turbulent. Republican membership had shrunk so low that it could not be an effective minority. There was, consequently, little incentive for party solidarity among the huge Democratic majority.

Rayburn had been in office only a few weeks when Roosevelt sent his bill to enlarge the Supreme Court. Democrats split wide open. Representative Hatton W. Sumners, Rayburn's closest friend and chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, refused to introduce the bill, calling it Court packing. Representative Maury Maverick of San Antonio introduced it.

Rayburn made known his determination to pass the bill if he could get it out of committee, but it remained lodged there. Relations between Rayburn and Sumners cooled.

CONNALLY OPPOSES

On the Senate side, Senator Tom Connally of Texas was one of the most vociferous opponents of the legislation. When it was apparent that the bill was doomed in the Senate, Roosevelt asked Garner to liquidate the fight in the interest of party harmony. The bill ended up dealing only with procedural reforms in Federal district and circuit courts, with the Supreme Court section eliminated.

There were administration reversals on the House side. The man who was later to be acclaimed as a great leader and great Speaker did not get an auspicious start. There was criticism that he was too mild. Even Garner told him:

"You've got to get your knuckles bloody once in a while, Sam."

PERSONAL APPEAL

But RAYBURN was patiently practicing the arts of persuasive personal appeal which later he used so effectively.

RAYBURN had other troubles. Speaker Bankhead was in uncertain health, and had to be absent for long periods. RAYBURN carried a double load. On July 5, 1939, RAYBURN was elected Speaker pro tempore to serve until Bankhead's return to health. With Garner presiding in the Senate, Texas for the first time had the presiding officers of both branches of Congress.

In 1938 RAYBURN consummated a project of immense importance to the entire Red River watershed, but especially to his own congressional district. A combined flood control and hydroelectric installation on the Red River had long been a dream.

DENISON DAM BILL

On June 1938 he got through legislation providing for the $75 million Denison Dam.

Lake Texhoma, which the dam created, has a shoreline of 580 miles. Approximately 6.7 million persons visited it last year.

On the Texas side of the lake, the Fish and Wildlife Service has established the Hageman natural wildlife refuge consisting of 11,427 acres. On the Oklahoma side, a similar refuge called Tishomingo has 16,620 acres.

[From the Houston Chronicle, Oct. 16, 1961]

MY YEARS WITH MR. SAM: TEXAN MADE UNHAPPY BY ROOSEVELT PURGE EFFORT

(Fifth of a series)

(By Bascom N. Timmons)

WASHINGTON.—Efforts of President Franklin D. Roosevelt to purge the 1938 Democratic primary Senators and Representatives who had opposed administration policies and measures certainly were not calculated to make SAM RAYBURN's life as House Democratic leader more serene.

RAYBURN himself at the end of the session had sent letters to all House Members, praising them for their work, regardless of their stand on controversial administration measures.

RAYBURN said he favored the reelection of all House Democrats, adding that the party was broad enough to tolerate a few "fractious" members. He made it clear that he thought it bad policy for Democratic leaders to oppose Democrats seeking reelection.

But Roosevelt went ahead with his purge efforts. One of those chosen for ousting was Representative John J. O'Connor of New

York whom **Rayburn** had defeated for the leadership. Of all Democratic Senators and Representatives whom Roosevelt sought to oust, he was successful only against O'Connor.

Rayburn put through a wage-hour law, relief measures, an amendment of the Neutrality Act and various bills to begin building up defense for a threatened World War II.

By early 1939 it became evident that basic disagreements on administration policies were developing between Roosevelt and Vice President Garner. It also was coming to be believed that Roosevelt desired a third term. On one of the Sunday night gatherings in Garner's hotel apartment, which **Rayburn**, I, and others regularly attended, Garner said:

"If Roosevelt runs, I will oppose his nomination in every way I can. I would be against a third term on principle even if I approved every act of Roosevelt's two terms."

Rayburn expressed no opinion. Garner intended to go back to private life. **Rayburn** expected to continue as House Democratic leader, whoever might be President.

Early in August 1939, **Rayburn** announced he favored Garner for President in 1940. **Rayburn** did not then believe Roosevelt wanted a third term.

* * * * *

There still was no announcement of Roosevelt's intentions when the Texas Democratic convention met at Waco in May.

The State convention insructed its delegates for Garner. The convention named **Rayburn** chairman of the Garner delegation in Chicago. I was a delegate at large. Just before I left for Chicago, Garner told me he wished me to serve as his proxy in the Democratic National Committee and to be his spokesman at Chicago if any occasion arose for it. He said I was to take whatever action I thought best without consulting him.

Garner had been felt out on whether he would be receptive to making it the same old team—a Roosevelt-Garner national ticket for a third time. Garner gave me a letter with the understanding that if it became a convention floor matter I was to go to the chairman's stand and read the letter telling the convention Garner would not again take the nomination for Vice President.

GARNER GOT FEW VOTES

President Roosevelt still had not announced his third term attitude when the national convention opened in Chicago, but it was now certain that he would be nominated, as he was, on the first ballot. The names of Garner and James A. Farley, however, had been formally presented as presidential candidates but except for the solid support of Texas, Garner received only a few convention votes.

Following Roosevelt's nomination, RAYBURN sought and obtained from a caucus endorsement of his candidacy for Vice President. Later Roosevelt telephoned RAYBURN that he wished Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace as his vice-presidential ticket mate.

Roosevelt asked RAYBURN to second Wallace's nomination. RAYBURN agreed, withdrawing his own candidacy.

Many at the convention rebelled against Wallace. Efforts were made to bring Federal Loan Administrator Jesse H. Jones, of Texas, Gov. Paul H. McNutt, of Indiana, and others into the race; all declined.

Speaker William B. Bankhead, of Alabama, however, entered the race and sought RAYBURN's backing. RAYBURN could never understand why Bankhead, with his uncertain health, wished the nomination. Moreover, RAYBURN already had pledged his support of Wallace.

TEXANS FOR BANKHEAD

RAYBURN moved to have a Texas caucus endorse Wallace, but instead the Texans went for Bankhead.

At a bitter, howling night session of the convention on July 18, Wallace was chosen over Bankhead, 626 to 329.

RAYBURN came back to Washington to resume his duties for the session of Congress which continued the rest of the year. There were many national defense measures to be considered, including the controversial extension of the drafting of men for military service.

Less than 2 months later Bankhead was dead and RAYBURN was Speaker.

[From the Houston Chronicle, Oct. 17, 1961]

MY YEARS WITH MR. SAM: SOLEMN HOUSE MEMBERS ELECT TEXAN AS SPEAKER

(Sixth of a series)

(By Bascom N. Timmons)

WASHINGTON.—SAM RAYBURN became the 42d Speaker of the House of Representatives on September 16, 1940.

A solemn, saddened body of men elected him as presiding officer without a dissenting vote in a 2-minute session.

With the casket bearing the body of his predecessor, William B. Bankhead, in front of the Speaker's dais, RAYBURN held up his right hand and quietly said "I do" as the oath was administered by Representative Adolph Sabath, of Illinois, the oldest House Member in years of service.

RAYBURN was nominated by Representative John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts, who explained that it was necessary to elect a Speaker so that the House might function properly.

No other name was placed in nomination. Republicans joined Democrats in a chorus of "ayes."

RAYBURN made no acceptance speech. The House immediately held a state funeral for Bankhead.

Three Speakers—Rainey, Byrns, and Bankhead—had died in the 6 years before RAYBURN's election, a few days more than 21 years ago.

It was then written of RAYBURN, that he once had a head of hair and a middle name, but had dropped both; that he had one of the baldest and most-level heads in Congress.

He was the fourth man from west of the Mississippi to be elected Speaker, others being John Garner of Texas, Champ Clark of Missouri and D. B. Henderson of Iowa.

When I first saw RAYBURN after his election to what had always been his goal he had just returned from Bankhead's funeral in Alabama.

"IT'S A FUR PIECE"

"Well," he said, "it's a fur piece from Flag Springs."

"Fur piece" was a favorite RAYBURN's colloquialism for "great distance"; Flag Springs was the one-room school in the Texas blacklands which RAYBURN had attended.

"And," he continued, "I still can't realize I'm Speaker."

SPEAKER POWERFUL

The Speaker is powerful. He is the real leader of the majority party in the House if he is a strong man, a policy consultant and legislative chieftain for the President and the next official after the Vice President in presidential succession. Only in protocol and presidential succession does a Speaker rank behind the Vice President. His powers are second only to those exercised by the President.

He is House spokesman and by tradition is expected to uphold its dignity and independence against all comers. The House must have felt strongly that RAYBURN did not fail it there, for it became the custom twice a year—on his birthday and the anniversary of his elevation to the speakership—for party lines to vanish as Republicans and Democrats showered encomiums on him.

Only twice in the 21 years after he ascended the Speaker's rostrum did RAYBURN surrender the gavel. In 2 years each in the 80th and 82d Congress, Joseph W. Martin of Massachusetts, RAYBURN's close personal friend, presided over Republican Houses.

MOST RESPONSIBILITY

In that long period RAYBURN was many times the center of momentous happenings. RAYBURN said that the day he probably felt his responsibility the most was on August 12, 1941.

On that day the question of extending the Selective Service Act was up for a vote in the House. Most of the thousands of soldiers who had entered the Army had done so with the understanding their service would be for only 1 year. There was war in Europe, but this country had stayed out of it.

The War Department's plea, that it would be catastrophic for the Army to disband, was met by a demand of thousand of parents that the Government keep its contract.

MOTHERS PROTEST

Flag-carrying mothers called on House Members as the Draft Act was debated, asking them to oppose extension. The galleries were filled as the rollcall began. It was nip and tuck.

Those of us in the press gallery found our tally sheets in disagreement. Even RAYBURN did not know which side had won. The tally clerk handed him a slip of paper.

FREEZES SITUATION

"On this vote," the Speaker announced, "203 Members have voted 'aye,' 202 Members have voted 'no,' and the bill is passed." By this quick action RAYBURN had frozen the situation, for no Member can change his vote after a rollcall result is announced.

One other maneuver remained for opponents of draft extension—to ask for a recapitulation. This, Representative Dewey Short of Missouri demanded. Because the vote was so close, RAYBURN allowed it. Again the roll was called. When finished, RAYBURN quickly announced: "No correction in the vote, the vote stands, and the bill is passed, and without objection a motion to reconsider is laid on the table."

Again Short demanded reconsideration. That move was stopped by RAYBURN's announcement that "without objection the motion is laid upon the table."

"BEG TO DIFFER"

Representative H. Carl Andersen, of Minnesota, got the floor to say: "I beg to differ with the Speaker. The Speaker did not announce that a motion to reconsider had been tabled."

"The Chair has twice stated that he did make the statement," the Speaker replied.

"I beg to differ with you—" the Minnesotan began. RAYBURN cut him short, with:

"The Chair does not intend to have his word questioned by the gentleman from Minnesota or anyone else."

JAPANESE STRIKE

By one vote the House had kept the Selective Service Act. Less than 4 months later the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbor.

Of the $350 billion we spent in fighting World War II, much of it was for secret purposes and RAYBURN would go before appropriation committees to ask for the funds. One case was the atom bomb. RAYBURN at first did not know what the money was for. Many Congressmen did not know of the atom bomb development until the first one had been dropped in Japan.

Until after World War II, RAYBURN attended few Washington dinners or social affairs. He once said:

"One reason I don't go to these society dinners is that they don't serve chili."

He liked to give chili and tamale dinners for small groups of congenial people.

There are some social functions in Washington that a Speaker is forced to attend, others that he cannot gracefully avoid.

The Speaker's dinner at the White House is a fixed state event. During her life, his spinster sister Lucinda (Miss Lou) went with him to these dinners. After her death his widowed sisters, Mrs. Thomas and Mrs. Bartley, went with him.

His annual birthday party on January 6 was another ritual. He gave a few big parties himself.

PINING FOR "CRUMBIN"

After a social season during Miss Lou's lifetime, he would say he was pining for some "crumbin."

Crumbin was a Lone Star species of cornbread that Miss Lou was skilled in baking.

RAYBURN has never crossed either ocean. He made one trip to Panama, his first year in Congress. He also spent a vacation in Mexico City. But year after year when his colleagues scattered to far away places RAYBURN headed back to his Texas farm.

HESITANT ABOUT PLANES

RAYBURN was slow to take up air travel. Asked in the 1940's if he was going to fly to his Texas home for Christmas, he said: "I am going, but I won't fly. I like to travel by train. Takes two nights and a day to get home that way, and the best rest I ever get is during that time. I spend most of it reading a wild west magazine. I went up in an airplane once, back in 1935. Made up my mind never to do it again."

During the 80th Congress when he was not Speaker he made the trips in a big, black Cadillac. In 1947 every Democrat in the House contributed $25 to buy the auto for their leader.

In his latter years he began to use airplanes exclusively for his trips home.

[From the Houston Chronicle, Oct. 18, 1961]

MY YEARS WITH MR. SAM: HISTORY WILL FIX TEXAN'S RANK AS HOUSE SPEAKER

(Last of a series)

(By Bascom N. Timmons)

WASHINGTON.—SAM RAYBURN's rank among Speakers of the House will be for history to fix.

The two who prior to him got the highest ranking were Thomas Brackett Reed and Joseph G. Cannon. Henry Clay, who before RAYBURN, had served longest, was never ranked as a great House presiding officer.

Reed served a broken 6 years—two each in the administrations of Benjamin Harrison, Grover Cleveland, and William McKinley.

A huge mountain of a man, a downeaster from Maine, Reed, a brilliant lawyer, was the possessor of a devastating tongue, and could wither an opponent with a word, or with a sentence at most.

Cannon, an Illinois man, although born in North Carolina and of southern stock, served 8 years in the Theodore Roosevelt administration. He undoubtedly was the most colorful Speaker in history.

I, of course, never saw Reed. With Uncle Joe Cannon I had a delightful friendship when he was no longer Speaker and a very old man. He was then no longer gladiator. He was left-handed and did wonderful things with his southpaw when he spoke.

Reed and Cannon were Republicans and arch conservatives—"stand-patters" in the idiom of their day. Both ruled the House with a tight rein. John Nance Garner was somewhat in the Reed and Cannon image, but Garner was Speaker for only 2 years.

There was no doubt RAYBURN was House leader, but he had a method of his own—an appearance of being a leader among and not of the House Members. It worked well.

Reed constantly clashed with Presidents. Cannon could tell Theodore Roosevelt, as he did, that "the House can take care of its reputation and its dignity in its own way." RAYBURN had good relations with the four Presidents who served while he was Speaker.

SAM RAYBURN

THE BEST WAY

"The best way to get along is to go along," is widely quoted advice given by RAYBURN to young Congressmen. The inference might be that they should bend gently to leadership orders.

RAYBURN stated it better when 400 Texans in Washington honored him at a dinner when he was elected majority leader: "I expect to tell the President my convictions and at times may argue with him, but when he and the leaders of Congress have agreed upon a definite program, I will be for it 100 percent," he said.

On another occasion RAYBURN said: "I have never asked a man to cast a vote which would violate his conscience or wreck him politically. In an overwhelming majority of the cases, the Members in the House vote for what they think is the best interest of the country."

PRAISED BY NIXON

RAYBURN got credit for running the House with firm but fair hand, persuasion rather than coercion. He once said: "The greatest ambition a man can have is to be known as a just man." Richard M. Nixon, when he was Vice President, said: "There has never been a better or a greater Speaker than SAM RAYBURN."

Nixon made that statement March 12, 1959, when he and 46 Senators presented to RAYBURN a silver tray bearing their inscribed signatures to be placed in the Rayburn Memorial Library at Bonham. It is a novel experience to see a contemporary live to become a patriarch as RAYBURN did during my time in Washington.

The most valuable thing RAYBURN got from Garner was "savvy"—an understanding of the House and the men and women in it. Most of them have fierce personal ambitions and nearly all feel they themselves have all the qualifications of leadership. All have constituencies. Year after year RAYBURN became the counselor and father-confessor of House Members. He saw nearly all of them privately at some time each session in his formal office.

SMALLER "BACK OFFICE"

There was also the smaller "back office" where he relaxed with friends. Vice President Harry S. Truman was in this little hideaway with RAYBURN and a kindred group when he was summoned to the White House to be told that Franklin D. Roosevelt was dead and he was President.

There are persons of all professions in Congress. RAYBURN, a lawyer, said it made no difference what their calling, if they had character and commonsense.

"When a person has commonsense, he has all the sense there is," he said. "It all depends upon what is done with it."

Into this office daily also came prominent private citizens, Cabinet officers, committee chairmen, and party leaders, large and small.

A rather sad-faced man, some visitors got the idea RAYBURN was a worrier. He said he wasn't, that when he went to bed he went right to sleep: "If I can't do my job standing on my feet, I sure can't do it lying in bed worrying."

MAN OF FEW WORDS

An aid once told how RAYBURN managed to see so many people and do so many things in a day. A telephone call took him 3 minutes, even if it was with the President. Five or ten minutes was enough for a conference, even on a complicated problem. He never wrote letters longer than a page.

He became affectionately known to the Nation as Mr. SAM. It started this way: There was still at home in Bonham a large Rayburn family. There was unmarried Lucinda. SAM always called this sister "Miss Lou," even when he was speaking to her. The neighbors took to designating the brothers as Mr. Tom, Mr. Jim, Mr. Sam, and Mr. Dick.

Hope Ridings Miller, a young woman from Sherman, came to Washington and became the writer of a social column. She began to refer to the Speaker as "Mr. SAM," as she had always heard him called back home.

Then a decade or so ago everyone seemed suddenly to like the appellation. He became Mr. SAM.

When an effort was made to boom RAYBURN for Vice President in 1944, he showed no desire to change from the speakership. although most persons believed that if Roosevelt were reelected he would not live out his fourth term. The nomination went to Truman, who did quickly succeed to the Presidency.

BACKED JOHNSON

There was a move among Texas and others from other States to offer him for President in 1952, he gave no assistance to it. In 1956 and 1960 he strongly backed the presidential candidacy of Senator Lyndon B. Johnson.

He refused the offer of permanent chairman of the 1960 Los Angeles Democratic national convention to work for Johnson's nomination and to make the speech placing his fellow Texan in nomination.

Although RAYBURN never admitted it, he became convinced soon after he reached Los Angeles that Kennedy had the nomination sewed up. He sat in his seat, second from the aisle, among Texas delegates, when Johnson was defeated by Kennedy. The next day Johnson was chosen as Kennedy's ticket mate.

The one native Texan he saw elected President was Dwight D. Eisenhower, a Republican. RAYBURN, as a Democrat, naturally did not like that, although Eisenhower always referred to himself as RAYBURN's "constituent."

On RAYBURN's 79th birthday Eisenhower sent him a telegram saying:

"I am happy to have been born in your congressional district (at Dension) because I prize your friendship and respect your many years of outstanding service to our country."

NO LIBERTIES LOST

RAYBURN recently scoffed at a statement that this country has lost many of its ancient liberties.

"What liberties have we lost?" he asked. "The American boy and girl today can say what he pleases, think what he pleases, and choose his way of life freely as long as he does not trespass on someone else.

"We have amended our Federal Constitution 23 times, but we have every single liberty we had when the Constitution was written in 1787."

His love for the Capitol Building has been well known. He fought for years, against formidable and vocal opposition, to change the east front.

The RAYBURN-directed extension of the Capitol's east front, which moved the familiar east exterior 32½ feet east of its original location, will be completed January 1 at a cost of $15 million.

An $86 million new House Office Building, rising to the west of the present two House Office Buildings, will owe its construction mostly to RAYBURN. It is to be completed by late 1963.

Representative Walter Judd, Republican, of Minnesota, has introduced a bill to name it the Rayburn Office Building. This probably will be done.

MISSED IN CONGRESS

Speaker RAYBURN came back for the opening of Congress in January peppery and vigorous. At the start of the session he succeeded in enlarging the Rules Committee as a means of easing the way for administration bills.

But the House rebelled at some of the Kennedy bills and it was a thorny session for RAYBURN. By its end, after he had gone back to Texas ill, the administration was taking a steady beating in the House.

RAYBURN thought his ailment was lumbago and to most of Washington it was inconceivable that he would not come bouncing back in 1962. Then came his serious illness.

The National Capital misses him.

"Speaker RAYBURN always will live in the history of a grateful Republic as one of the greatest public servants we have ever had," said Representative Clarence Brown, Republican, of Ohio.

That, I think, is the way most of RAYBURN's contemporaries feel.

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Mr. YARBOROUGH. I ask to have printed a number of newspaper and magazine articles as follows:

[From the Houston Chronicle, Nov. 17, 1961]

SON OF OLD FRONTIER PLAYED POWERFUL ROLE IN NEW

(By Ralph McGill)

SAM RAYBURN is dead in the autumn season of harvest and fulfillment: "Don't ever count the crop until it is in the barn," he used to tell young, impatient Congressmen. The crop of his life is now in eternity's barn and it can be counted and measured.

SAM RAYBURN was not an average man. He was not, as some thought, taciturn and short of temper. He was not a man for smalltalk. He did not tolerate fools easily. Now and then he annoyed the more idealistic newcomers to the House by telling them that the "way to get along is to go along." (He did not mean it as cynically as it sounds.)

As we begin to look at the harvest of RAYBURN's long, rich life, we discover that in the years of the New Deal, and the first of the New Frontier, it was he, the smalltown, rural conservative, who labored most successfully in the vineyard of social reform. He could be, and was, both conservative and liberal. But what he really was, was a man of great sensitivity and feeling for the needs and rights of people. He had no patience with those who proposed legislation which he thought had for its purpose merely the coddling or rewarding of people. But when the real needs of people were at issue, Mr. SAM was on their side.

AVERTED DISASTER

Had it not been for him, President Kennedy, for example, would have been brought to disaster in the first months of his administration. The Rules Committee was in defiant, hostile hands. It would not permit bills which established a new minimum wage, expanded social security payments, a housing act, and other legislation pledged by the Democratic administration, to be voted out to the floor. To get them there SAM RAYBURN had to do battle with an old friend, Representative Howard Smith of Virginia.

It was a close vote—217 to 212. But the margin was wide enough—especially in a battle which might not have been won at all.

This was in early January 1961. It was in late summer that what seemed like an old man's lumbago pains began to bother Mr. SAM. He went home. Worried doctors found it was not lumbago at all, but cancer, already spread through the lymph system, and impossible to cure.

In the sorrow which welled up at the news, men began to remember that he had served well three Presidents, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, and John Kennedy. They each learned to lean on him. They encountered his sometimes irascible stubborness. They knew moments of irritation and anger. But none doubted his loyalty. They knew that when the chips were down they could count on his complete loyalty to the Democratic Party and its basic principles. He might, and often did, refuse to accept Presidential urgings and proposed legislation. Not even his enemies ever suggested he was a rubberstamp. But he was unfailingly a Democrat.

SAFE WITH RAYBURN

There are many examples of this Presidential awareness.

One weekend when a VIP caller telephoned Washington he found the President and the Vice President were away. He reached the President in a distant city and asked, "Who's tending the store in Washington?"

"RAYBURN," said the President. "The country's safe with him there."

Even Harold Ickes, though he quarreled often with SAM RAYBURN (and with everyone else), wrote that Roosevelt's most vital legislation could not have been had without SAM RAYBURN.

The President did not obtain all he wanted. But in the field of public utility reform, for example, strong legislation was enacted over the bitter fight of the powerful electric and gas industry lobbies. RAYBURN was storm-tossed and under terrific pressure from interests in his home State. Yet he held on.

Rural electrification came via the Norris-Rayburn bill. Here again, the electric companies fought hard to prevent passage of it. RAYBURN put it through the House, and the Senate followed this leadership.

This was the period when President Roosevelt said, "I am fighting communism, Huey Longism, Coughlinism, Townsendism. I want to save our system, the capitalistic system; to save it is to give some heed to world thought of today."

In all these things SAM RAYBURN was a stalwart.

LONELY, HARD LIFE

Perhaps he remembered his own harsh boyhood. He was the eighth child of 11. On an isolated 40 acres, young RAYBURN grew up. He recalled the far stretching, level emptiness of the plains, and the hours when he swung on the gate on Sundays, hoping to see some rider coming on a visit. (Once he said of those days, "I have known loneliness that breaks the heart.") He toiled hard in the fields. He read history books at night.

He wanted school. When it came time for SAM to go to East Texas Normal, the young man had perhaps $5 saved from the meager amounts which came his way. His father waited until the train was in. He then silently handed his boy $25.

"God knows how he saved it," said RAYBURN, in talking about that day. "He never had any extra money. We earned just enough to live. It broke me up, him handing me that $25. I have often wondered what he did without, what sacrifice he and my mother made beyond those which every day demanded of them."

DID ODD JOBS

At the normal school he swept floors and did odd jobs for his room and board. He studied hard—especially history. He managed to get to law school. Politics were always in his mind. He once said that at 10 years of age he was determined to go to Congress. In the Southern States law is regarded as a necessary steppingstone to politics.

He went to Congress in 1912, the year Woodrow Wilson became President. Wilson was ever one of his heroes. He never thought of the Senate, and never aspired to it. To him, the House, the legislative body, was the most important and meaningful.

He was often at odds with Democratic Presidents. But he never even considered bolting the Democratic Party. He thought it not unusual that the country turns to Democrats when there is trouble. "I think this is because they are, for the most part, closer to the people and think in broader political terms," he once said. "The Republicans have a tradition of representing business—not people."

WAS FOR PEOPLE

This may help explain his support of legislation, attacked by the GOP Old Guard as socialistic, which enabled people to have a better life. REA is a perfect example. He pushed it hard. "It will take some of the harsh labor off the backs of farm men and women," he said.

He was elected Speaker in 1940. He held that position until his death, save for the first Eisenhower administration. He respected President Eisenhower, and believed him to be an honest, well-meaning man. But he also thought him a Republican in the sense that Mr. Eisenhower's image of wisdom and "the best brains" seemed to be any man who had attained financial success.

JOHNSON FRIENDSHIP

There was a long, fast friendship between him and Lyndon Johnson, now Vice President. The current Vice President first came to Washington as a Congressman and it was his fellow Texan RAYBURN who schooled him and taught him the ropes. At the 1960 convention it was RAYBURN who placed his protege's and friend's name in nomination for the Presidency. It was RAYBURN, too, who was one of those who gave the green light to Senator Johnson's surprise acceptance of the vice presidential nomination.

SAM RAYBURN's life was not Spartan, it was rich. Yet he lived simply. He never took congressional junkets. Indeed, the record shows that he never left the United States but once. He went once to inspect the Panama Canal. When Congress adjourned he went home. He had two farms. On one he raised cattle. On the other he grew corn and cotton. He liked to fish and read. But he was not a man who had to be entertained. He could live with himself.

It is proper, in seeking to sum up the life of the man who served with (not under) Wilson, Roosevelt, Truman, and Kennedy, and who gave to each advice which was wise and politically pragmatic, to note that he is the last of his breed. He came quite literally from the frontier. The last President he served projected for the country a New Frontier in a time of growing population, automation, computers, and industrial techniques which approach the miraculous.

RESILIENT

SAM RAYBURN came from the old frontier. Yet, none was more alert or at home in the New Frontier than he. His mind was so resilient that he could serve the Presidents in whose administrative years the Nation made its greatest social changes.

Our system has endured because the profit dollar developed, in the years spanned by RAYBURN's life in the Congress, a social conscience. American capitalism came to mean, among other things, public education, social security, unemployment insurance, aid to crippled children, to the blind, and, through hospital construction, aid to the sick. Capitalism pays the bill for disasters; it subsidizes farmers; it builds dams and irrigates deserts. It clears slums, finances housing, guarantees bank deposits. American capitalism resembles almost not at all the classic capitalism of Queen Victoria's day. It is almost unbelievable that one man's legislative experience spans these tremendous reforms—from 1912 until now. And rare is the important bill which does not bear his name or the stamp of RAYBURN's advice or influence.

GREATER THAN PRESIDENTS

It is easy to see that he was, and that the sum of his life is greater than that of any one of the Presidents with whom he served. "Don't ever say a Speaker of the House served under a President, son," he once told a young reporter.

In writing about men who have served for a long number of years, it is too easy to slip into the trite conclusion that an era has ended and that it is perhaps as well that death has come to save a man from heartbreak and disappointment.

This is not true of Mr. SAM. Until the lumbago pains would no longer respond to aspirin or mustard plasters, he could sniff the battle from afar and go forward confidently to meet it. He was a magnificent field commander. He grew old, but his mind, his political tactics and strategies did not. He was not losing his grip. The fact is there is none to take his place in the House. And, in certainty, he will stay on in the hearts of the thousands who knew and loved him.

[From the Daily Texan, Nov. 17, 1961]

'TWEEN THE HORNS

(By Hoyt Purvis)

When a famous person dies, every writer, large or small, important or nonentical, wants to write of the time they talked to or saw the famed person.

Certainly there are hundreds of writers who knew more of SAM RAYBURN than I. And there are persons who read this paper who were well acquainted with Mr. SAM. But just the same, I can't help recalling my meetings with him.

Elsewhere on the page I write of the accomplishments of SAM RAYBURN. But here I want to talk about some personal reflections.

The first time I met Mr. RAYBURN was several summers back, when I was spending time in Washington, and the Capitol was my habitat. Having thoroughly familiarized myself with the place, I was resting obscurely in one of many out-of-the-way rooms, my nose in the paper. After a while I noticed a man sitting next to me, also reading, but I didn't pay much attention. Then, recognizing the famous RAYBURN head, I hastened to introduce myself and shake hands.

Coming face-to-face with that Rayburnish scowl, I almost expected a growl, but instead got a smile, a friendly and warm conversation.

Now I am sorry that I only indulged in small talk, but so often that is the way you react.

My second meeting with Mr. Sam came just last June. The 14 of us from UT who went to Chile for the Student Leaders Seminary spent some prior time in Washington for orientation from the State Department and Foreign Service Institute.

One afternoon we paid visits to the various Texas legislators, and of course Mr. Sam was tops on our list.

That was just a few months back, and Mr. Sam was in the Speaker's chair, in full charge of the House.

I recall that just as we arrived at Rayburn's office, the bell indicating a rollcall sounded and we were amazed to see Speaker Rayburn literally galloping back to the floor.

It was a remarkable experience to observe the 79-year-old gentleman scurrying through the corridors, or banging down the gavel or his fist to get a point over.

When we gathered in his office a few minutes later we expected only a hurried introduction, but the busy bulwark of the Democrats took time for a heart-to-heart talk. It seemed highly significant at the time. And it was. People suspected that Mr. Sam was in his last days, but no one really would say it.

We remembered how it was so quiet as he started talking, and how once again that stone face melted into a friendly grin.

He described himself as a man who "has always been in a hurry." He said, "I did 3 years of college in 2 years, and had to sweep floors and ring bells to make it. I studied law at the university after being elected to the State legislature."

Mr. Sam told our group that if we wanted to be good Americans, one of the most important things was knowledge of our country's history. And he spoke with pride of his library in Bonham, and urged us to visit it soon. I think I will.

"Read about the men who were alive, and know particularly about the formative period. The most romantic thing in the world is U.S. history," said Rayburn.

And then, speaking as a man who knew, he said: "One man has as much sense as the next. It's those who work that make it. Ability is no good without energy. There is no primrose path to success."

He banged his fist on the desk as he made his final point. But he didn't need to. We would all remember. And I will always remember.

[From the Daily Texan, Nov. 17, 1961]

GREAT CAREER ENDED

Dedication to Texas, to the Democratic Party, and to the United States were inherent qualities in SAM RAYBURN. Courage, wisdom, and firmness, combined with this dedication, made Mr. SAM one of the great men of the 20th century.

RAYBURN was a man who earned respect not just from Texans, or Democrats, or Americans, but from citizens of all States, and nations, and of all sorts of political beliefs.

He was not a back-slapping politician, but he knew how to pull the strings and was superb at getting what he wanted. Even in his days as a university law student and State representative he was demonstrating vigorous devotion to what he believed in. He followed the pattern for 48 years in Congress, serving longer than any other man.

Mr. SAM was not flashy. But his straight shooting and constant hard work allowed him to move up steadily in the national echelon. In 1940, a tense year in all the world, his fellow Representatives elected him to head the House. He made his position powerful, probably second only to the Presidency. He served as Speaker twice as long as Henry Clay, the previous record holder.

In 1961 he was still proving to be the vigorous captain of the House. One of the toughest battles in House history arose over changes in the rules committee. And Mr. SAM won out in a hot fight with his old friend, Howard Smith of Virginia.

When Mr. SAM first went to Washington back in the pre-World War I days, Texas was still a relatively young and undeveloped State. Such is no longer the case, and the Lone Star State has become more urbanized and industrialized and a strong force in national affairs. But it never outgrew SAM RAYBURN. Rather it grew with RAYBURN and because of him.

When he came home to Texas to live his last days the eulogies start pouring in. And they were all unanimous in sterling praise.

Early Thursday Mr. SAM left the great American stage. But the shadow of his greatness, and the sound and solemnity of that gavel he so often banged will remain indelibly impressed in American annals.

[From the Fort Worth Star-Telegram, Oct. 19, 1961]

TEXAS REAPS BENEFITS—RAYBURN A PARTNER OF F.D.R. IN BRINGING ABOUT NEW DEAL

(By Marquis Childs)

WASHINGTON.—The qualities making for leadership in a democracy are blurred by television and radio, the media of mass communication that indefinitely expand the opportunity of the clever demagog. It was out of quite another era, the era of the individual speaking from a body of conviction and belief deeply rooted, that SAM RAYBURN came.

Mr. SAM has always known who he was. When he did speak sparingly and sparsely in language of almost Biblical simplicity, it was out of his origins in an America that still reflected the glow of the struggle for freedom and the harsh, demanding life of the frontier.

A SILENT PARTNER

Because he was so little concerned with his own personal prestige—his is one of the shortest biographies in "Who's Who"—a later generation is hardly aware of how much he had to do with shaping the Democratic Party. He was a partner of Franklin Roosevelt in the New Deal. And if for the most part he was content to be a silent partner he was nevertheless an indispensable component of the partnership that brought what was in effect a new party into being.

Roosevelt spoke for the city masses, the bosses and their constituents. RAYBURN worked for the dispossessed South and West, for those who were in effect colonial drawers of water and hewers of wood for the industrial North. The partnership was highly successful in that the two major interests complemented each other and impressive majorities were rolled up in one election after another.

PUSHED HARD FOR REA

One of the New Deal goals that RAYBURN pushed hardest was rural electrification. He had grown up in the age of oil lamps when the farmer's wife pumped all the water for the household by hand, besides doing the innumerable other chores for a big family. RAYBURN was determined to have the farmer share with the city dweller the benefits of technology. He worked hard to get benefits for his own State of Texas and particularly when he recruited as his adjutant a smart young Texan new to the House named LYNDON JOHNSON.

The end of RAYBURN's career coincides with a revolution of the right in Texas that seeks to take that State not only out of the New Deal but into the arms of the Republican right. This uprising, symbolized by Texas new Republican Senator, JOHN TOWER, is for States rights and against the Federal Government and all its works. The wealthy Texans financing the movement are well to the right of Louis XIV in the conviction of their own sovereignty.

Yet Texas today gets more Federal handouts than almost any other State. In 1960 Texas got 5.82 percent of the divvy from the nine largest Federal programs and in that same year paid

4.43 percent of the total tax burden. The total was $534,352,000 for Texas with a population of 9,850,000.

MORE THAN NEW YORK

This compares with $655,889,000 for New York State with its population of 16,782,000 and California which got $677,584,000 with a population of 15,717,000. The comparison shows up even more sharply in individual programs. On old-age assistance, for example, Texas got $103,187,000 while New York State got $46,732,000. This may be a reflection of the degree to which Texas out of its own sovereign tax revenues helps its own old people.

In military contracts Texas outranks all but three States with well over a billion dollars in defense procurement in 1960. In short, the process that RAYBURN began many years ago to try to equalize the distribution of the Nation's wealth has gone forward with a vengeance. And, as Mr. SAM has from time to time wryly observed, those who shout loudest about States rights are often those who work hardest to snare the Federal dollar.

Nothing riled him so much as the fulminations of these conservatives who were at the same time eager to get all the benefits going from the measures initiated under the New Deal and the Fair Deal. A year ago, when President Kennedy was in Texas, Mr. SAM campaigned with him with the vigor of a man half his age. He showed that he could still hit at what he believed to be prejudice and hypocrisy with the fire of his youth.

In the House, where he has been Speaker far longer than anyone in history—he passed that record in 1951—he has in recent years been tired and sometimes impatient and indifferent. Discipline in the unwieldly Democratic majority was lax and both southerners and northerners strayed off the reservation with Mr. SAM's sanction in the belief that if they had to vote a certain way to get reelected then they had to vote that way.

When he came to Congress in 1913, Washington was a small provincial capital, a southern town with a transient population moving in and out as the Congress met. Increasingly the follies of the time oppressed him. But he never lost the integrity, the sense of being part of a nation he knew and loved, that he brought with him from the last frontier.

[From the Austin Statesman, Nov. 17, 1961]

MR. SAM WON MANY BATTLES, BUT DEATH IS VICTOR IN HIS LAST FIGHT

SAM RAYBURN has won many battles. But the last one he could not win, that against rapidly spreading cancer. Though Mr. SAM was spared the excruciating agony of terminal cancer, his once-hardy frame was emaciated by his affliction, and his mind lost the alertness and sharpness, for which he was famous, in the last days and hours.

RAYBURN was a Congressman and Speaker of the House of Representatives longer than any other man, breaking the speakership record previously held by Henry Clay.

He was a responsible custodian of the prestige of that office, acutely conscious of being a Democrat, but scrupulously fair in his rulings and in his treatment of his opposition, as shown by the fact that one of his intimates was Republican Representative Joe Martin of Massachusetts, who functioned as Speaker during the interval of Republican control of the House, lost early in the Eisenhower administration, and as shown by the fact that Republicans in Congress had a warm affection for him despite his being a vigorous exponent of numerous Democratic policies.

Yet he was no rubberstamp man. He disagreed with parts of Democratic administration objectives and said so. But in the stern disciplinary area of party politics he was a good soldier. He was a man about whom a sort of legend has grown as to his taciturnity and reluctance to make speeches. But when it became known that RAYBURN was to address the House, the House filled speedily as the word passed that "RAYBURN is on."

RAYBURN, one of this land's greatest Americans, loved his country with a passion. Profoundly disturbed when the House, in the face of the imponderable of World War II which we had yet to enter, was about to abolish the Selective Service System and in stern, plain talk, demanded that it heed the realisms of the day which found German submarine war already seeking to drive us from the seas and about to sink the U.S. destroyer, the *Reuben Jones,* he demanded an extension. The issue was won by the closest of votes, that of one for retention of the Selective Service System, which won for this country irreplaceable time to prepare for the certainty of war.

He led the fight against the principle of holding companies controlling vast corporate domains, as was shown in the "busted" bubble of the Samuel Insull utilities empire. He stood for good and responsible Americanship, the rights of the people, a solidly endowed economy.

Having experienced poverty he had a broad sympathy for the unfortunate in times of stress and never hesitated to uphold the principle of public assistance until those in plight could be rehabilitated, though often under bitter attack from the wearers of silks and satins.

It is difficult for anyone long familiar with RAYBURN at the gavel of the House to believe that that body can for a long time to come ever be the same without him.

In many major matters he was above mere partisanship. He had also the qualities of statesman. His death is a heavy blow to Texas, which derived prestige from his long incumbency in the chair and as House Member.

It is a blow to the Democratic Party, beset by the responsibilities of stewardship at a time when problems greater and unlike those at any other time in this country's history, face it, with the threat of devastating nuclear war and the intransigeance of Russia and its leaders toward any proposal that would soften or avoid the danger, and thus is a blow to the Kennedy administration. Neither party has a figure comparable to the unusual abilities and stature of RAYBURN.

But in the midst of death life must go on. The world is for the living, but this is the time for shedding of tears. Comes now after a decent interval, and with the reconvening of Congress which shall know his presence no more, with the Chamber's artificial light bouncing off his baldpate as he sat or stood at the podium, with a face often as inscrutable as that of a sphinx, when a successor must be named. It will call for the most mature of decisions, with all the way from half a dozen to a dozen being mentioned, most largely unknown save in their own districts.

For the Democratic Party itself it also is a time for self-examination. One of its greatest, able to guide it through the shoal waters of party disunity and resulting prejudices, is gone.

[From the Dallas Morning News, Nov. 17, 1961]

SAM RAYBURN

The end came for SAM RAYBURN in the community he loved, in the midst of friends in the district that first sent him to Austin 54 years ago and chose him 25 times to represent it in Washington. The record he wrote is not likely to be surpassed. His achievement is among the amazing superlatives of American political history.

Mr. RAYBURN's career was the epitome of the practical functioning of democracy where such intangibles as loyalty, friendship, and individual persuasion shape events more surely than the oratory of a Roosevelt or a Kennedy.

Above all else, Mr. RAYBURN was human. Four of the eight Presidents of the United States who knew him live today to mourn the loss of a personal friend. So do two young Dallas boys whom he greeted with "Glad to see young folks my age," when he interrupted a busy conference schedule not long ago. For millions of other Americans, too—who knew him only as the unsmiling, gavel-pounding arbitrator of Democratic national conventions and sessions of the House of Representatives—a friend is gone.

Of all the lessons learned in mankind's chronicle, the most certain is that only history can weigh fairly the real worth of men. Many opposed with deep conviction the issues for which Mr. RAYBURN strove. In the struggle, he was a relentless fighter but usually a warm friend when the tumult died.

So be it today, for in death there are no foes. There is only the lasting memory of the love of the many Mr. RAYBURN befriended, and of the unique service he rendered longer than any other American.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Nov. 1, 1961]

RAYBURN: "TALLEST TEXAN OF THEM ALL"

(By Bicknell Eubanks)

BONHAM, TEX.—"He was the tallest Texan of them all."

That was the comment of the senior Senator from Texas, Ralph Yarborough, at the passing of Speaker of the House SAM RAYBURN. Senator Yarborough, who occasionally found himself at odds with Mr. RAYBURN in the roily politics of Texas, spoke for his fellow Texans in general.

While Texans are proud of the historical stature of their neighbor, they have not been unanimous in approving his political policies, perhaps because he stands out as a towering individualist among people who themselves still reflect the individualism of their pioneer heritage.

But SAM RAYBURN brought great prestige to his home district, the smallest congressional constituency in the State, and to Texas as a whole. Most Texans felt a pride in this prestige.

NATIVE OF TENNESSEE

Only a few political intimates ever got close enough to Mr. RAYBURN, however, to sense the respect he held for the position, both official and historical, which he had been thrust into.

Interestingly, Mr. RAYBURN never possessed the political power in his home State that he wielded on the national scene.

He had many political foes in the Lone Star State, though few bitter enemies.

[President Kennedy changed the itinerary of his western trip in order to attend funeral services in Bonham Saturday for Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Kennedy was scheduled to arrive in Texas shortly after noon Saturday, attend the funeral, and then fly back to

California for a Democratic Party dinner in Hollywood Saturday night.]

Mr. RAYBURN, a native of Tennessee, was brought to Texas as a young boy. He was the eighth of 11 children of a Confederate veteran and farmer, William Marion Rayburn, and Martha Waller Rayburn, both of them originally from Virginia.

He was so widely known as SAM RAYBURN that few persons ever knew his full name, SAMUEL TALIAFERRO RAYBURN.

CLASSIC TRADITION

Mr. RAYBURN rose to prominence in the classic American tradition. He grew up amid simple surroundings. He said his father told him, "SAM, the only thing I can give you is character."

His boyhood on the farm near Bonham left its stamp on his political and economic philosophy. He once explained that a major reason why he worked so hard for rural electrification was because he remembered how his mother had to carry firewood and water, and he wanted to spare other mothers from having to perform such difficult chores.

Mr. RAYBURN worked his way through college and attended what is now East Texas State College at Commerce. He later got a law degree at the University of Texas.

He showed his political aptitude early when he was elected speaker of the Texas House of Representatives at the age of 29, the youngest speaker in Texas history. The next year he ran for Congress and was elected. He took his seat on March 4, 1913, and had served ever since. His reelection soon became almost routine. He seldom had any opposition.

TWO DISAPPOINTMENTS

Mr. RAYBURN once told Texas newsmen that he had had only two major disappointments. He had wanted to be President, but he explained that at the time when he could have been a choice, Franklin D. Roosevelt came on the scene, "and I didn't have a chance." The other was that his protege, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, did not get the Democratic nomination for President in 1960.

When Mr. RAYBURN was at home, he filled a busy schedule. He would receive many visitors and long-distance telephone calls.

Once when this correspondent visited him during the lunch hour, he was interrupted by a caller from Oklahoma. The Oklahoman, a young garage operator, had come to Bonham to ask Mr. RAYBURN for a top diplomatic job. Mr. RAYBURN received him cordially and discussed the request gravely and calmly for about 30 minutes.

When Mr. RAYBURN returned to the dining room, a sister asked him what did he do about the request. It was during a period when the Republicans controlled the House and Representative Joseph W. Martin, Jr., of Massachusetts, was Speaker. Mr. RAYBURN chuckled:

"I just told him to get in touch with Joe. I wonder what Joe will do about it."

He chuckled some more as he told his guests to have second helpings.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Nov. 17, 1961]

RAYBURN: A SOLID, UNFRILLED CITIZEN

(By William H. Stringer)

WASHINGTON.—The President, the Vice President, the Members of Congress, and the whole Nation is honoring the memory of SAM RAYBURN, the plain-living, direct-spoken, unfrilled American who passed on in Bonham, Tex., after serving as Speaker of the House longer than any man in history, and twice as long as Henry Clay.

The House of Representatives won't find it easy to replace Mr. SAM, whose strength of character and sense of duty helped keep the splintered, populous lower Chamber in step with the White House and Senate. President Kennedy saw this as the House kicked over the traces when Mr. RAYBURN went home early this year, and defeated Senate-passed legislation.

SPEAKER 18 YEARS

Oldsters are saying around town that they don't build men like SAM RAYBURN any more—solid, quietly believing in the basic goodness and rightness of things American, shunning the uses of publicity and televised congressional hearings, an old-fashioned conservatively dressed man from the small towns of the Nation.

But quite possibly his example has taken hold, as passed along in friendships on Capitol Hill, at numerous Washington dinners where he spoke briefly and pithily and in such a calm remark as this—to someone who asked him to define his philosophy: "Well, a little applied Christianity wouldn't hurt."

The Washington consensus as Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson canceled his west coast flight and headed instead for Texas, was that it is the Nation's strength that it does produce such individuals.

"He was always there when he was needed," Mr. Johnson commented. "His voice and judgment were heard and respected. In the end, it all added up to one thing—he did what was right."

Mr. RAYBURN was Speaker of the House 18 years. He served more years in the House of Representatives than any man since the Nation was born.

SHUNNED LABELS

Now the choice of House Speaker is expected to fall on Representative John McCormack, Democrat, of Massachusetts, the present Acting Speaker, with perhaps some of his authority shared by a younger and more effective man, Representative Richard Bolling, of Missouri, who would be House leader.

Northern liberals often called Mr. RAYBURN a southern conservative—though he helped to send much of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal through the House. Vigorous conservatives called him a liberal. Personally, he shunned labels even as he shunned making long speeches.

In 1960 he was for Mr. Johnson for President. But the bright young men and adroitly organized efforts of the Kennedy campaign defeated him. He had gaveled numerous Democratic nominating conventions into activity, and by quick nods and recognitions of those clamoring for notice from the floor he often influenced the course of events. In 1960 he had stepped down from this role, so he could work for his friend Lyndon.

Those who looked around Washington today for memories of Mr. SAM's work could recall the time just before World War II when the Nation's whole military program hung in the balance. On August 12, 1941, isolationists were on the verge of defeating the bill to extend the Draft Act.

Mr. RAYBURN called upon Secretary of State Cordell Hull and the top men of the Armed Forces for letters to read to the House to impress its membership with the seriousness of the situation.

During the final debate he took the floor and appealed for support. And in the voting confusion as the ballot was taken, he used his knowledge of parliamentary procedure to freeze permanently the announced bare majority vote of 203 to 202—the vote which helped make the Nation prepared for war.

Many have testified that Robert E. Lee was Mr. RAYBURN's real national hero, not because he was southern but because the name Lee meant duty, love of country, self-denial. In his inner-sanctum office in the Capitol, the photographs of General Lee are prominent.

The late David Cohn wrote of Mr. RAYBURN: "He was born on the farm in the prepackaging era when folks got their cheese off the big round and their crackers out of the barrel, and so he clings to the outmoded concept that the contents are more important than the package."

Which, as many today would opine, is a lesson for this modern commercially vibrant country to remember well.

SAM RAYBURN

[From the Bonham (Tex.) Daily Favorite, Nov. 19, 1961]

THOUSANDS PAY LAST TRIBUTE TO MR. SAM

"He has finished his course."

With those words, Speaker SAM RAYBURN was laid to rest Saturday afternoon in Willow Wild Cemetery.

The new grave is beside that of his beloved sister, Miss Lou, and in the family plot with his mother and father and other members of his family who have gone before.

His pastor, Elder H. G. Ball, had spoken the comforting and reassuring words, "We do not say farewell, we only say goodnight."

He spoke the words before possibly the greatest assemblage of Government leaders ever to gather outside the Halls of the Nation's Capital.

He spoke them to President John F. Kennedy, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, former Presidents Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower, more than 100 Members of Congress and the U.S. Senate, and scores of other high officials representing almost every department of the Nation's Government.

His impressive eulogy to Mr. SAM came during funeral services in the First Baptist Church which was filled to overflowing. The services were piped outside by loudspeaker in order that the thousands who could not get in might hear.

RITES IN WASHINGTON

The services were carried in full by national television. In Chicago the Chicago Symphonic Orchestra played special music before the services, while the body was being taken to the cemetery, and then after the interment rites were completed.

Simultaneously with the services here, memorial rites were being held in the Washington Cathedral, where those hundreds of friends in the Nation's Capital who could not come to Bonham could join in the final tribute.

It must have been just as Vice President Johnson had said it would be in Washington—"a lonesome place without Mr. SAM."

It was the same in Bonham.

THE WORLD GRIEVES

"We must realize that we are grieving not only in our own hearts—but the world, or most of it, is grieving with us today," Elder Ball, of the Tioga Primitive Baptist Church, said as he opened the impressive tribute to the man he referred to often as "our friend."

"The poor, the lonely, the less fortunate were objects of his compassion and his consideration.

"Such men are not born. They are made."

Elder Ball spoke of the ambition that began in a cottonfield of Fannin County, of Mr. SAM's climb to national prominence and the high position he achieved.

"He had the feeling that in that place he could be a servant to so many people in the world.

"He made himself a good servant of all the men and women and children who support the freedom and liberties we seek.

"He has fought a good fight for the liberties and freedom of this country.

"He has fought a good fight for the people of this country and the district he represents. He has kept the faith with the democracy of our country.

"He has finished his course."

KEPT FAITH WITH GOD

Elder Ball said that Mr. RAYBURN "not only met local and national obligations in his position, but he has kept faith with God."

"As we come to this hour, the future holds all that is bright and eternal," Elder Ball said. "It can only be had when we enter through the portals of death. He is now where there will be no strife, no threats of war or destruction, but where there is nothing but peace.

"We are not saying farewell, we only are saying goodnight."

Immediately following the services, the presidential party left the church, followed by members of the family. Many hundreds of others had gathered at the cemetery for the brief commital rites. Chaplain Bernard Braskamp of the U.S. House of Representatives led the prayer at the opening of the service and at the cemetery.

So numerous were the arrivals Saturday morning of people in high government places that knowing who was here was difficult.

PRESIDENT FLIES IN

President Kennedy flew into Perrin Air Force Base and came to Bonham by helicopter. Former President Truman had arrived early and gone to see Mr. RAYBURN's surviving brother and two sisters at the Rayburn home west of Bonham.

Former President Eisenhower flew to Perrin and came to Bonham by helicopter.

The First Baptist Church filled rapidly as ushers, directed by William "Fishbait" Miller, longtime doorkeeper at the House of Representatives, took congressional and senatorial representatives and their wives, and the scores of other high officials, including

Congressman John McCormack, Secretary of Navy John Connally, Gov. Price Daniel, of Texas, and many others to their seats.

When the seating of distinguished visitors and others who occupied reserved sections was completed, the hundreds of others who had gathered outside were permitted to enter so long as seating facilities were available. Classrooms and others areas of the church had been opened and the services carried to them by loudspeaker.

PRESIDENT'S SEATED TOGETHER

President Kennedy and his party arrived moments before time for the services to begin, followed by members of Mr. RAYBURN's family, his staff and others close to the family. The President sat in a front pew on the aisle. In order, next to him, sat Vice President Johnson, Mr. Eisenhower, Mr. Truman, 84-year-old Senator Carl Hayden, of Arizona, and Maj. Gen. Chester Clifton, Presidential military aide.

The casket had been moved directly to the church from the Sam Rayburn Library, where the body had lain in state from Friday until Saturday morning. It was not opened at the church.

Immediate members of the family surviving are Mrs. S. E. Bartley and Mrs. W. A. Thomas, sisters; Dick Rayburn, brother; nieces, Mrs. Joyce Lightfoot of Bonham and Mrs. Judy Rayburn Lowry of Dallas, and a nephew, Robert Bartley.

Mr. RAYBURN died Thursday morning, November 16, 1961, in Risser Hospital following an illness of several weeks. He returned home from Congress for rest and treatment in August, was transferred to Baylor Hospital in Dallas early in October, and was returned to Bonham late in October.

His condition had been critical for the last several days as he fought the losing battle to cancer.

[From Life magazine, Dec. 1, 1961]

UNSEEN SIDE OF THE MAN THEY CALLED MR. SPEAKER

(By D. B. Hardeman)

(As SAM RAYBURN's research assistant, the author enjoyed a close relationship with the Speaker. He is writing a biography of Mr. RAYBURN.)

SAM RAYBURN was all that has been said of him in the eulogies. He was a man of great honor and high ideals. But he was also a man of earthy humor and plain ideas and this was the man I got to know in my years of close association with him.

His roots were deep in the land of northeast Texas. "I love the dirt," he said. "I like to walk on it. I like to grow things on it. I like to preserve it. Everything comes from the dirt and eventually goes back to the dirt." He shared a mutual respect and understanding for his people—the real people, he always called them. Soon after he became Speaker of the House—"Mr. Speaker" he was called—he went home to discuss with his neighbors the threat of Adolf Hitler to Bonham, Tex., and the world. "We meet always and in all places as equals," he told them. "Among us we have no classes and no cliques."

His devotion to "the real people" and his enthusiasm for serving them were part of his heritage. From his father he acquired a love of politics. "Pa took his citizenship as a sacred duty," SAM said. From his mother, a woman of stern self-discipline and a keen mind, he learned judgment and patience. From both parents he acquired a deep sense of honor. "Matt" Rayburn lived to be 80 and was a strong, loving influence on SAM throughout her life. Early this year when he was in the middle of the hardest battle of his congressional career over a proposal to enlarge the House Rules Committee, he told me: "What I wouldn't give to be able to sit down and talk over some of these problems with my little old mother right now."

Outside his family, SAM's affections ran strongly toward children and young people. 'I've never seen the Speaker around dogs," Vice President Lyndon Johnson said, "but I'll bet they love him because children do." They took to him instinctively. They crawled all over him and rubbed their hands over his bald head. I believe the only great disappointment of his life was that he had no children of his own. His brief marriage in 1927 was childless. Once when the Bonham Campfire Girls visited his home he said, "Now what do you girls want to talk about?"

"Where is your wife?" one small girl piped up.

"I don't have a wife," he replied gently.

"Why don't you have one?" she persisted.

"Oh, I'm so cranky that nobody would have me," he said with a laugh.

"I'll marry you," another girl said.

RAYBURN roared with delight.

In Washington Mr. SAM enjoyed meeting groups of young people. A high Government official might be lucky to get 10 minutes of his time on a busy day but the Speaker would gladly devote an hour or more talking with high school or college students. "I like young men," he said. "Their minds and bodies are more resilient." Lyndon Johnson once confessed: "The Speaker and I have always been close but if we are not as close as we were once, it is because I'm almost 50. If you notice, he never has old men around him."

The young men—and the old—who got to know Rayburn best in Washington were those who were welcomed in his hideaway on the ground floor of the Capitol. There in the late afternoon the "board of education" met for some light drinking and informal politicking. Away from work Sam's personality was dominated by laughter, cajolery and down-to-earth humor. He rarely told jokes in his speeches ("I tried it once and before I got through I was the joke"). But in private he liked to tell jokes on himself. Soon after William P. Rogers became Attorney General in the Eisenhower administration, the Speaker struck up a conversation with him at a formal dinner although they had not been introduced. Finally Rayburn inquired, "Do you have a position in the Department of Justice?"

"Yes," came the reply. "I am the Attorney General."

To work for Sam Rayburn was to join the large family as another admiring member. He was very sentimental about his employees—at his Washington office, at home in Bonham, at the Rayburn Library. His Negro cook, Bobbie Phillips, was master of the Rayburn kitchen for 24 years until she died. When another employee once complained that his Christmas gift was not as large as hers. Bobbie flared: "Shut your mouth. You just ain't been a Rayburn as long as the rest of us."

Although he could be hard and cold on business matters, a basic gentleness always showed through when he was dealing with his helpers or acquaintances on a personal level. I once remarked to him about his extreme politeness to waitresses and bellhops. "I wouldn't be unkind to a little boy or a girl waiting on me for all the gold in Fort Knox," he said. "That little girl might be your sister or mine. What we do in this life is often determined by a mighty small margin. I missed being a tenant farmer by just that much"—he snapped his fingers—"but someone was kind to me in my youth."

Despite his courtesy and patience, Mr. Sam did not believe in taking an insult lying down. When a constituent wired demanding that certain action be taken and implying that the Speaker was not doing his job, Rayburn replied: "I have received your insulting telegram. I think I am perfectly capable of tending to my business and if you would tend to yours, I think it would take most of your free time. The matter has already been taken care of."

One of the big irritations in Rayburn's life was tardiness. We once got a late start on a drive from Bonham to Dallas where he was to address the delegates to the American Medical Association. When he realized we would probably arrive behind schedule he exploded, "I loathe being late. And I loathe people who are late."

Then he began to laugh at himself. "That reminds me of John—who lived out from Bonham," he said. "He was getting married Saturday afternoon at 6 o'clock. He picked cotton till noon, then shaved, got a haircut, took a bath, trimmed his toenails, and was getting dressed.

"One of the groomsmen said, 'If you don't hurry you're going to be late to your wedding.'

" 'Waal,' said John, 'they can't do no business till I get there.'

"So I guess," SAM wound up, "that the doctors will just have to wait."

Mr. SAM was also annoyed by inactivity. When he could think of nothing else to do at home in Bonham he would get out all his shoes and polish them. He dreaded holidays and Sundays because visitors were few. One Saturday early this year RAYBURN restlessly roamed his Capitol offices. Finally he lay down to take a nap. In a few minutes he emerged, grinning.

"If this keeps up," he said, "I'll be like old Howard, down south of Bonham. Every day he dressed up and stood around on the courthouse square all morning, just talking. One day a fellow asked an old colored man, 'Say, what does that fellow do?' He replied, 'Well, sir, he don't do nothing all morning and he rests all afternoon.' "

Despite his need to keep occupied, RAYBURN was a cautious, patient man. He never rushed into a decision. He carefully planned his words and actions. He used to remind us, "One of the smartest things anybody ever said was 'Wait a minute.' " And he adopted for his own a maxim attributed to President Calvin Coolidge: "You never have to explain something you didn't say." He admired brevity and clarity in the House. A freshman Congressman once asked him if he was talking too much on the floor.

"Yes," RAYBURN said.

"Well, what should I do about it?"

"Quit it," RAYBURN said.

The Speaker was a Democrat by deep conviction. He believed that his party knew best how to run the Government of the United States. Two months after he arrived in Washington in 1913 he wrote his first speech for Congress. In it were the principles—and hopes—that would serve him the rest of his life: "It is now my sole purpose here to help enact such wise and just laws that our common country will by virtue of these laws be a happier and a more prosperous country. I have always dreamed of a country which I believe this should and will be, and that is one in which the citizenship is an educated and patriotic people, not swayed by passion and prejudice, and a country that knows no east, no west, no north, no south, but inhabited by a people liberty loving, patriotic, happy, and prosperous, with its lawmakers having no other purpose than to write such just laws as shall in the years to come be of service to humankind yet unborn."

In political campaigns SAM was a fierce opponent. Yet he was held in affection by most Republicans because, while he fought hard, he never fought unfairly. "The greatest ambition a man can have is to be a just man," he often said.

A newspaperman once asked, "Mr. Speaker, you see probably a hundred people a day. You tell each one 'Yes,' 'No,' or 'Maybe.' You never seem to make notes on what you have told them, but I never heard of your forgetting anything you have promised them. What is your secret?"

RAYBURN's hot, brown eyes flashed:

"If you tell the truth the first time," he replied, "you don't have to remember."

(A series of articles written for the Fort Worth Star-Telegram, Dallas Times Herald, and Houston Chronicle)

(By Bascom N. Timmons)

PART 1

For a good many years now I have thought of SAM RAYBURN as indomitable, indestructible, and imperishable.

I came to regard him as indomitable in the early days of our friendship when he came to Washington a stockily built, dark wavy-haired young man just 2 months past his 31st birthday to take the oath as Representative from the Fourth Texas Congressional District.

I came to think of him as indestructible and imperishable as in his long congressional service he went on to break record after record. First it was Henry Clay's tenure as Speaker, and which he then more than doubled. Then he surpassed by more than 2 years the longest previous continuous service in the House of Representatives of any man in the constitutional history of the United States.

When he entered a hospital at Dallas in his critical illness RAYBURN had been a Member of Congress 48 years 6 months 3 days.

He set other marks, too, such as being the Democrat to preside as permanent chairman over the most national presidential nomination conventions of his party. There have been 12 presidential elections and 8 Presidents of the United States since he came to Washington. He was to be the colleague of an aggregate of more than 3,000 Members of the House of Representatives. Close to a majority of the present Members of the Senate served with him in the House.

As a lawmaker he has seen three wars—World War I, World War II, and the Korean war, and except only for Senator Carl Hayden of Arizona, who came to Washington only a few months prior to RAYBURN's arrival no person remains in public life who was here when the Texan came on the National Capital scene in 1913.

The annual expenditures of the Federal Government in RAYBURN's first year in Congress were $724,511,963. They will be more than 100 times that this fiscal year. The receipts of the Federal Government that fiscal year were $724,111,230 and there was a deficit of $400,733.

I preceded SAM RAYBURN to Washington by 8 months. My first big assignment as a Washington newspaperman, however, was to cover the first inauguration of Woodrow Wilson on March 4, 1913. It was RAYBURN's first big day, too, for he sat in the inaugural stand to see a Democrat inaugurated President after 16 years of Republican occupancy of the White House.

Marching with the West Point cadets that day was young Cpl. Dwight D. Eisenhower, who was to become the first native-born Texan ever to be President of the United States. I shared with Eisenhower and RAYBURN at least one thing—we came from adjoining north Texas counties. RAYBURN was from Fannin County, Eisenhower was born in Grayson, and I in Collin County.

RAYBURN did not take the oath of office until April 7 when President Wilson convened the New Freedom session of the 63d Congress which remained in continuous session until October 24, 1914.

Speaker Champ Clark administered the oath to RAYBURN as he entered a House in which there were men who would furnish headlines for the next four decades and more.

The parade of future congressional celebrities which accompanied RAYBURN over the threshold of history that day and the sitting Members already there had the makings of:

Two future Vice Presidents: Garner and Barkley.

Five future Speakers: Gilette, Garner, Rainey, Byrns of Tennessee, and RAYBURN.

Six Cabinet members: Burleson, Glass, Good, Shackleford, Palmer, and Hull.

Four tariff-bill authors: Payne, Underwood, Fordney, and Hawley.

An antitrust-law author: Clayton.

An 8-hour-day creator: Adamson.

The prohibition amendment and enforcement act writer: Volstead.

The Federal Reserve Act architect: Glass.

The writer of the largest number of Roosevelt New Deal laws: Rayburn.

A Supreme Court Justice: Byrnes of South Carolina.

A future Democratic presidential nominee: Davis.

There were also in Congress the last Representatives of the Civil War: Gen. Issac Sherwood, Ohio, Union, and Maj. Charles M. Stedman, North Carolina, Confederate.

There were orators, such as Finis Garrett, of Tennessee, and Daniel E. Garrett, of Texas, and J. Thomas Heflin, of Alabama, and great legislative writers such as Lenroot and Esch, of Wisconsin, and Mann, of Illinois, and Sherley, of Kentucky. "Big Tim" Sullivan, of Tammany, New York, sat on the Democratic side and "Boss" William Vare of Pennsylvania, on the Republican side.

Two alltime Republican congressional greats had gone down to defeat in the Republican split which elected Wilson: Ex-Speaker Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois, and Speaker-to-be Nicholas Longworth, of Ohio. But both were returned for the 64th Congress and Rayburn, ardent Democrat, though he was, cherished his personal friendship with Cannon and Longworth as among the most valued things of his life.

In after years Rayburn was to say of the men he found in the House of Representatives when he arrived:

"There were a great many people far ahead of me, and I wasn't jealous of them. I didn't envy them their positions. I was willing to await my turn."

As a Washington correspondent I watched Rayburn get ready for his turn. He was fortunate that John Nance Garner, of Uvalde, who had been in Congress for 10 years, took a special liking to him. Garner was colorful, popular with both Democrats and Republicans, and no man was in a better position to obtain favors from the leadership.

He told Rayburn that as the House was organized at that time the most powerful committees were (1) Ways and Means; (2) Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Representative Choice B. Randell, whom Rayburn succeeded in Congress, had been a Ways and Means Committee member and Garner himself wanted that post. He set about to help Rayburn get Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

The chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee was Representative William C. Adamson, of Georgia. Adamson became very fond of Rayburn and another rookie Member of Congress, Representative Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky. He assigned to Rayburn a great deal of work on the Adamson 8-hour law which averted a nationwide railroad strike in 1916.

Although Barkley was a notch higher in seniority on the committee than RAYBURN, Adamson made more use of the hard-working RAYBURN who began to get a reputation in the House as an advocate. RAYBURN never had a committee assignment other than Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

He served on the committee under the chairmanships of John J. Esch, of Wisconsin, Samuel E. Winslow, of Massachusetts, and James S. Parker, of New York, and although he opposed them on most measures, he was the warm personal friend of each and enhanced his reputation through the years of GOP congressional control. He became the committee chairman in the last 2 years of the Hoover administration and in the Roosevelt administration, authored much of the regulatory legislation put on the statute books.

His colleagues of his early days in Congress did not regard him as brilliant. But he was friendly, able, honest, industrious, serious, unhurried, and calm. He was regarded as a possessor of all the solid rural virtues in a Congress in which nearly all the leaders were of rural origin.

RAYBURN made his first speech in the House on May 6, 1913, when he lacked 1 day of having served a month in that body. He spoke in favor of the low Underwood tariff bill, which was to go on the statute books repealing the high Payne-Aldrich tariff law. An amendment to the Underwood bill provided for an income tax in accordance with the recently adopted 16th amendment.

"As a new Member of this body, I, of course, feel that I should have regard for the long-established custom of the House, which in a measure demands that discussion of questions shall be left to the more mature Members," RAYBURN said. "But I feel that as a Representative of more than 200,000 citizens of the Fourth Congressional District of Texas, I should be allowed to break in a measure whatever of this custom remains, and exercise my constitutional right to speak my sentiment on this floor and refuse to be relegated to that lockjawed ostracism typical of the dead past."

In the course of his speech, RAYBURN said:

"I came to this body a few weeks ago with childlike enthusiasm and confidence. It has always been my ambition to live such a life that one day my fellow citizens would call me to membership in this popular branch of the greatest lawmaking body in the world. Out of their partiality and confidence they have done this. It is now my sole purpose here to help enact such wise and just laws that our common country will by virtue of these laws be a happier and a more prosperous country. I have always dreamed of a country which I believe this should be and will be, one in which the citizenship is an educated and patriotic people, not swayed by passion or prejudice, and a country that shall know no East, no West, no North, no South, but inhabited by a people liberty loving, patriotic, happy, and prosperous, with lawmakers having no other purpose than to write such just laws as shall in the years to come be of service to humankind yet unborn."

PART 2

Two rookie Texas Representatives in Congress, SAM RAYBURN, of Bonham, and Hatton W. Sumners, of Dallas, came to Congress together and for years were the closest of friends. Both got good committee assignments—RAYBURN on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and Sumners on Judiciary and both eventually became chairman of their committees.

RAYBURN and Sumners took adjoining offices 543 and 542 in the old House Office Building, which had been built when Uncle Joe Cannon was Speaker. Each had one room, which he shared with a secretary.

RAYBURN got a Congressman's pay—$7,500 per year, and the Federal income tax had not just become effective. He got the going Congressional allowance for office help of $1,500 per year and hired one person at $125 per month. He represented a 5-county district with a population of a little over 200,000. It was largely rural and made few demands on him.

He had won over an 8-man field in the primary and his majority, as I recollect it, was only 405. He was a bachelor, almost a teetotaler. Two of his Texas colleagues, John Nance Garner and James P. Buchanan were the two most accomplished poker players in Washington. RAYBURN was not a cardplayer. He played dominoes at night with Representative Cordell Hull of Tennessee and other colleagues in the homey lobby of old Cochran Hotel. He introduced Hull to the lady who eventually became the wife of the future Secretary of State.

He seemed little interested in women and had few dates with them. He took no junkets, went home when Congress adjourned and fixed political fences. He insisted that he did not feel well entrenched in his district and "always ran scared." Yet when he had opponents he put them away handily.

RAYBURN in our early acquaintance told me a great deal about his closely knit family.

RAYBURN's father, William Marion Rayburn, had been a Confederate soldier who came home to Roane County, Tenn., near the present great Norris Dam on the Tennessee River, and married Martha Waller.

Ten children were born to them in Tennessee. In 1887 the father, mother, and 10 children, 7 boys and 3 girls, moved to Texas and settled near Windom in Fannin County, where the elder Rayburn used all his resources to buy a 40-acre blackland cotton farm.

The 11th child, a son was born in Texas. SAM, the eighth child, was christened SAMUEL TALIAFERRO, which he had shortened to SAM long before he appeared on the Washington scene.

The Rayburn family had rough going in their first years in Texas. They lived for 30 years in the little frame house where they first settled in Texas. In his early years in Congress RAYBURN was building the new family home which became a show place in Texas. It originally cost, I think he told me, $2,800 in the low building costs of those days, but it was modernized and added to. RAYBURN also added to his land holdings and eventually developed the purebred stock farm which became his great pride.

RAYBURN had got what education he could at the little school near Windom, attended Mayo College at Commerce (predecessor of East Texas Normal) and after 2 years of college taught school for 4 years. He ran for a seat in the legislature at 23, served 6 years in Austin, the last 2 as speaker, the youngest Texas ever had, then in 1912 made his winning campaign for Congress.

RAYBURN told me that his desire to come to Congress was whetted by a speech of the great Texas orator, Representative Joseph Weldon Bailey, who represented the Fourth District which RAYBURN later was to represent. RAYBURN rode horseback in mud and rain 11 miles to Bonham to hear the speech by Bailey, who later became a controversial U.S. Senator from Texas. Bailey was always RAYBURN's political idol.

His ambition, RAYBURN said, always was to come to Congress and become its Speaker; that he never had any ambition to be a Governor, a Senator, a President, or a Vice President. Years afterwards, in 1940, he did wish to be Franklin D. Roosevelt's vice-presidential running mate, but Roosevelt tabbed Henry A. Wallace to go on the ticket with him.

In the latter days of the Wilson administration and early days of the Harding administration RAYBURN with Hatton W. Sumners and Marvin Jones, Texas Representatives in Congress, and later Silliman Evans, a newspaper man, established bachelor quarters and acquired a famous cook, but RAYBURN himself was an accomplished cook, specializing in fried chicken.

He had become an ardent fisherman and it was his principal recreation. He had a hobby of collecting pocket watches, the most prized of which was one given to him by hs colleagues when he was speaker of the Texas house. He was also for a long time a collector of Robert E. Lee books and photographs.

While a member of the Texas Legislature RAYBURN studied law and graduated from the University of Texas Law School. More than 30 years ago he moved to the kitchenless bachelor quarters at the Anchorage Apartment, where he continued to live in Washington, leaving it this year for the first time before congressional adjournment.

One day in 1916, when Rayburn had been a Member of Congress for 3 years, Speaker Champ Clark beckoned to the Texan to take a seat beside him in the private corridor outside the House Chamber.

Clark told Rayburn he had been watching him, was convinced he could attain any place in Congress, including the speakership, but that he ought to enlarge his horizon. Clark asked Rayburn to jot down a course of reading. It included some writing of Thomas Jefferson, the biographies and writing of Presidents John Adams and John Quincy Adams, President Andrew Jackson, and Senator Thomas H. Benton.

Clark also told the Texan to do certain reading on Presidents James K. Polk and William McKinley, and to learn all he could about the legislative methods of both Polk and McKinley, who had been distinguished Members of the House of Representatives.

Rayburn did all of the prescribed reading. Many times he, a convinced partisan Democrat, surprised me by admiring references to McKinley, an arch conservative Republican. Rayburn told me McKinley came close to being the ideal legislator and was a much underrated President.

There is little doubt that of all the Presidents who were in office during his long Congress tenure Rayburn had the greatest admiration for Woodrow Wilson. In the first Wilson inaugural address, which he had heard as a freshman Congressman, he had found the principles by which he was to live, and the course he thought his party ought to follow.

Yet it was to Wilson that he revealed his qualities of independence. He went to the White House one day in 1915 to discuss with the President a bill pending in the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. Wilson asked him to hold up action on the bill.

Rayburn told the President he would continue to press for action on the measure, despite the White House opposition.

"I'm sorry I can't go along with you, Mr. President," he said brusquely as he picked up his hat and left Wilson's presence.

The purpose of the bill was to control the issuance of railroad stock and bonds. The bill did finally become law by Wilson signature but it was passed by a Republican Congress in 1919 and Rayburn got help in its passage from Committee Chairman Samuel E. Winslow, a Massachusetts Republican.

In after years when he became a master at placation Rayburn would recall the brush with Wilson as an evidence of his tactlessness when he was a fledgling legisator.

PART 3

My closest associations with SAM RAYBURN were in the two decades of the 1920's and 1930's. This, I think, was because there were years in which we both had considerable leisure. For RAYBURN that period of time saw his emergence as an important voice in his party and a very effective legislator.

RAYBURN by the end of the Wilson administration had won his fifth straight congressional term and, although he had nearly always had primary opponents, the Fourth Congressional District was electing him more or less automatically.

He had won his spurs as a party wheel in World War I and his congressional advancement was checked by his party's political fortunes which were not as propitious as his personal ones.

In 1918, midway in Wilson's second term, the Republicans won the House of Representatives and held a tight grip on it for 12 years. The Harding landslide in 1920 swept even into the South to strike down such shining Democratic lights as Representative Cordell Hull, of Tennessee.

RAYBURN moved far up in overall House seniority and became the top Democratic member of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

Representative John Nance Garner had become the big figure in the Texas delegation and during the 1920's Garner was also to become the choice of the Democrats for their House floor leader.

Garner bypassed some of the senior House Members and formed a young strategical and tactical group of his own, of which RAYBURN was the senior one. Others in the group were Representative Fred Vinson, of Kentucky, later Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court; and Representatives John McDuffie, of Alabama; Lindsay Warren, of North Carolina; John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts, and John F. Carew, of New York.

Frequently Garner would ask me to sit in on their planning sessions, of which they had relatively few. Mostly each of his high lieutenants worked directly with Garner. One of RAYBURN's duties was to keep up a close liaison with Representative Fiorello H. LaGuardia of New York, an irregular Republican. Sometimes (notably in the Mellon tax bills fights) the Democrats were able to draw to their side enough Republicans to win important amendments to legislation.

RAYBURN also took part in the fights against the Fordney-McCumber and Smoot-Hawley tariff bills. Of the three Republican Presidents who followed Wilson, RAYBURN's relations were cordial with Harding and Hoover and especially good with Coolidge.

On his visits to the White House, sometimes for Coolidge breakfasts, he said he found that "Coolidge talked enough." RAYBURN frequently quoted with approval Coolidge's reply to a criticism of his silence. Coolidge said: "Well, I found out early in life that you didn't have to explain something you hadn't said." Hoover, RAYBURN called "a grand man, a hard-working President. I doubt if anybody who might have been President could have prevented the debacle of 1929, which took him down with it."

RAYBURN had less dealing with Harding than with any of the Presidents who served after he came to Washington, but found Harding "gracious" the few times he did have business with him. Of Harding's ill-starred Presidency, including the Teapot Dome scandals, RAYBURN said:

"I never thought Mr. Harding was a dishonest man. I don't think there has ever been a President of the United States who was a dishonest man. I think Harding was trusting. Some people who were not honest imposed upon him."

The Republicans won their seventh straight Congressional election in 1930. But it was so close that before the beginning of the session of Congress in December 1931 (this was before the lame-duck amendment to the Constitution advancing the beginning of congressional and presidential terms) deaths had so thinnned the Republican ranks and augmented the Democrats that John Nance Garner was elected Speaker by three votes. RAYBURN became chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee for the last 2 years of the Hoover administration.

With Democratic control of Congress in 1931 began the era of RAYBURN's ever-increasing importance in party councils. Garner as Speaker became the highest ranking Democrat in the Nation and almost automatically an available candidate for the 1932 Presidential nomination.

The Democratic State Convention, meeting in San Antonio, instructed for Garner and elected RAYBURN his campaign manager, and chairman of the Texas delegation to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago. Garner in a three-way primary contest won the California delegates, defeating Alfred E. Smith and Franklin D. Roosevelt. His fellow Texan's campaign was not too easy for RAYBURN to manage, as Garner showed scant interest in it.

At Chicago Garner's strength never exceeded the 46 delegates from Texas, the 44 from California, and a few scattering from other States. But RAYBURN made the Garner candidacy a very important factor in the final outcome.

Roosevelt was far from assured of the two-thirds majority then necessary to nominate. Garner had told RAYBURN before the latter's departure for Chicago that he would not be a party to deadlocking the Democratic convention as it had been deadlocked in 1924 at Madison Square Garden.

The third ballot—all three taken at an all-night session—had found Roosevelt short of the nomination, but the Texas and California delegations of Garner could be enough to put him over. How to get them was a question. RAYBURN was for Roosevelt as his second choice after Garner, but it was doubtful if he could carry the Texas delegation, in which there was strong sentiment for Newton D. Baker, along with him.

From Washington Garner called RAYBURN and said curtly, "I think this thing has gone far enough." RAYBURN thought so, too, but he faced the fact that if he could not win Texas for Roosevelt, the forces of the New York Governor would begin to disintegrate on the fourth ballot and a long deadlock would undoubtedly ensue.

"Do you authorize me to release the Texas delegation from voting for you for the Presidential nomination?" RAYBURN asked.

"Yes," Garner replied.

RAYBURN was now on his own and the key man in the convention. If he could switch Texas to Roosevelt, California would follow suit and Roosevelt would be in. If he could not it appeared the jig was up with Roosevelt and a long stalemate was in prospect.

RAYBURN, who always valued an 8-hour sleep, did not go to bed when the convention, after an all-night session, adjourned at 9:15 Friday morning. His soundings convinced him that it was nip and tuck between Roosevelt and Baker in the Texas delegation, and with many delegates determined to go on voting for Garner even in the face of his withdrawal.

It appeared to RAYBURN that the surest way to get a majority of the Texans for Roosevelt was for Garner to go on the ticket as Vice President. A conference between RAYBURN and James A. Farley, the Roosevelt manager, agreed that Garner could have second place. Roosevelt from Albany gave enthusiastic approval. But it still was doubtful Texas could be won for Roosevelt.

The San Antonio convention had done things in a big Texas way. It sent 180 men and women to Chicago to cast 46 votes in the national convention, each delegate having only a fractional vote. They were all for Garner, but where they would land with Garner out of it was unpredictable.

Late Friday afternoon RAYBURN decided to take his big gamble. He suddenly called a caucus of the delegation. The call was so sudden that only 105 of the 180 persons in the delegation showed up at the caucus. It soon developed into a howling mob scene. RAYBURN finally got a semblance of order and took a vote. The tally showed 54 for going to Roosevelt, 51 against. What would have happened if the other 75 Texans had arrived RAYBURN himself often speculated, but the 3-vote margin was enough to give

Roosevelt Texas under the unit rule, and California followed Texas into the Roosevelt camp to give him the nomination on the fourth ballot.

Garner had told RAYBURN and Senator Tom Connally during the day: "I don't think I should give up the speakership for the Vice-Presidency." He never did say he would take it, but the convention gave it to him anyway.

RAYBURN, who had stuck so closely to his congressional job in Washington and devoted himself so exclusively to his own congressional district that his voice had hardly been a potent one in Texas party councils came out of the 1932 Democratic National Convention a very important figure in Texas and in the Nation. Thereafter his shadow was to continue to lengthen.

Garner's reluctance to give up the speakership was because he had won it only 2 years before, satisfying a long ambition. Garner was 62 years old, from a district where he was entrenched, and thought he could hold the speakership as long as he wanted to do so, and his party stayed in power. He thought the speakership second only to the Presidency in importance. The Vice-Presidency he considered as "an office of little importance."

Garner's departure from the House opened up the way to advancement for ambitious Democrats. RAYBURN and the other Garner lieutenants failed narrowly in their effort to elect Representative John McDuffie as Speaker to succeed Garner. Instead the top House post went to Representative Henry T. Rainey, of Illinois, with Representative Joseph W. Byrns, of Tennessee, as majority leader.

As chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee RAYBURN pushed through more New Deal legislation than any other Member of Congress. He authored the Federal Communications Act, the Securities Exchange Act, the Rayburn-Wheeler Holding Company Act, and the Rural Electrification Act, among others.

PART 4

SAM RAYBURN's election as Democratic leader in the House of Representatives on January 4, 1937, marked the highwater mark of his eminence to that date. It was in the nature of a handsome early birthday present. RAYBURN was within 2 days of his 55th birthday.

He was in the excellent health he had always enjoyed and continued to enjoy for many more years. Robust and virile, he was capable of working long hours. He was heavier and blockier than when he came to the House 24 years before, and the black hair he brought with him to Washington had entirely vanished and he was the baldest man on Capitol Hill.

A movement for RAYBURN for the Speakership had been started by his House friends in December 1934 following the death of Speaker Henry T. Rainey before the Roosevelt administration was 2 years old.

Representative Joseph W. Byrns, of Tennessee, had been the majority leader since the beginning of the Roosevelt administration. Moreover, Byrns had been chairman of the congressional campaign committee which directed the 1934 congressional campaign and had been instrumental in helping many Members to be elected, and these Members felt under obligations to the Tennessean.

RAYBURN got out of the race in a characteristic statement of just 19 words, at which he asked me to look before he issued it. It could not have been improved upon. He wrote:

"I am no longer a candidate for Speaker. There are no alibis. Under the circumstances I cannot be elected."

Byrns won the Speakership and Representative William B. Bankhead, of Alabama, was chosen majority leader. RAYBURN evinced no interest in the latter post at the time. Pending before his powerful Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee at the time were three important pieces of legislation: reorganization of the National Recovery Administration (the Supreme Court later ruled NRA unconstitutional); railroad rehabilitation, and the future Federal policy on oil control, the latter being of prime importance to Texas.

Speaker Byrns died on June 4, 1936. Bankhead was elected Speaker on the same day, but as Congress was adjourning in 2 weeks no majority leader was elected, Representative John J. O'Connor, of New York, chairman of the Rules Committee, filling in.

RAYBURN managed the Speaker's committee of the Democratic National Committee in 1936 when the Roosevelt-Garner ticket carried all the States except Maine and Vermont. He returned to Washington and formally announced his candidacy for the majority leadership, and soon found that he was the apparent underdog in the race.

O'Connor had been conducting an intensive campaign and President Roosevelt seemed to be in his corner. RAYBURN could not believe this for O'Connor, as chairman of the Rules Committee, had blocked some New Deal legislation dear to Roosevelt's heart. But he was a brother of Basil O'Connor, who had been Roosevelt's law partner.

RAYBURN's campaign was managed by Representative Fred Vinson of Kentucky, later Chief Justice of the United States, and by Carl Vinson, of Georgia, who came to Congress in a special election only a few months after RAYBURN did.

When it looked dark for RAYBURN, Vice President Garner arrived in Washington and went to work in his behalf. When Garner was criticized for intruding in House affairs he retorted:

"I'm for RAYBURN 200 percent and I am going to keep working for his selection."

Representative John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts, announced his support of RAYBURN and brought him important eastern seaboard support. Pennsylvania swung to him and with his almost solid southern backing he had pulled up even with O'Connor in early December. The White House did not make the expected fight for O'Connor, even seemed to be on RAYBURN's side. He quickly won other northern and eastern support.

It was a bitter fight but when Representative Hatton W. Sumners on January 4 arose to nominate RAYBURN in the Democratic caucus it was only a question of the size of the RAYBURN majority. On the rollcall RAYBURN had 184 votes, O'Connor 127.

RAYBURN's first year as majority leader was a turbulent one. The Republican membership had shrunk so low that it could not be an effective minority. There was, consequently, little incentive for party solidarity among the huge and unwieldy Democratic majority. It was a job-hungry Congress and all the choice patronage of the Roosevelt administration had been dispensed.

RAYBURN had been in office only a few weeks when President Roosevelt sent up his bill to enlarge the Supreme Court. Democrats split wide open. Representative Hatton W. Sumners, RAYBURN's closest friend, and chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, refused to introduce the bill, calling it court packing. Representative Maury Maverick, of San Antonio, introduced it.

RAYBURN made known his determination to attempt to put the bill to passage if he could get it out of committee, but it remained lodged there. Relations between RAYBURN and Sumners cooled.

On the Senate side, Senator Tom Connally, of Texas, was one of the most vociferous opponents of the legislation. When it was apparent that the bill was doomed in the Senate, President Roosevelt asked Vice President Garner to liquidate the fight in the interest of party harmony. The bill ended up dealing only with procedural reforms in Federal district and circuit courts, with the Supreme Court section entirely eliminated.

There were administration reversals on the House side. The man who was later to be acclaimed as a great leader and great Speaker had not got off to an auspicious start. There was criticism that he was too mild. Even his mentor, John Nance Garner, told him: "You've got to get your knuckles bloody once in a while, SAM."

But RAYBURN was patiently practicing the arts of persuasive personal appeal which later he used so effectively.

RAYBURN had other troubles. Speaker Bankhead was in uncertain health, and had to be absent for long periods, and RAYBURN carried a double load. On July 5, 1939, RAYBURN was elected Speaker pro tempore to serve until Bankhead's return to a semblance of health. With Garner presiding in the Senate, Texas, for the first time, had the presiding officers of the two branches of Congress.

In 1938 RAYBURN was unable to consummate a project of immense importance to the entire Red River watershed, but especially to his own congressional district. A combined flood control and hydroelectric installation on the Red River had long been a cherished dream.

On June 1938, he got through legislation providing for the $75 million Denison Dam, which at present costs would have cost millions of dollars more. The dam was built under the supervision of Col. (now Lt. Gen.) Lucius Clay, now President Kennedy's personal representative in Berlin.

For the past several years, it had an annual electric power production of 270 million kilowatts, and it sold to both private distributing companies and cooperatives in the area.

Lake Texhoma, which resulted from the building of the dam, has a shoreline of 580 miles. Approximately 6,700,000 persons visited it for recreational purposes last year, and the total will go around 7 million this year.

On the Texas side of the lake, the Fish and Wildlife Service has established the Hageman Natural Wildlife Refuge consisting of 11,427 acres. On the Oklahoma side, a similar refuge called Tishomingo has been established with 16,620 acres.

PART 5

The efforts of President Franklin D. Roosevelt to purge in the 1938 Democratic primaries Senators and Representatives who had opposed administration policies and measures certainly was not calculated to make SAM RAYBURN's life as House Democratic leader more serene.

RAYBURN himself at the end of the session had sent out letters to all the House Members, praising them for their work in Congress, regardless of their stand on controversial administration measures.

RAYBURN said he favored the reelection of all House Democratic Members, adding that the party was broad enough to tolerate a few "fractious" Members. He made it clear that he thought it bad policy for Democratic leaders to be throwing their influence against Democrats seeking reelection in the impending primaries.

But Roosevelt went ahead with his purge efforts. One of those chosen for ousting was Representative John J. O'Connor, of New York, whom RAYBURN had defeated for the leadership. And of all the Democratic Senators and Representatives who Roosevelt sought to drive out of Congress he was successful only against O'Connor.

RAYBURN put through the wage-hour law, relief measures, the amendment of the neutrality act and various bills to begin building up defense for a threatened Word War II.

By early 1939 it became evident that basic disagreements on administration policies were developing between President Roosevelt and Vice President Garner. It was also coming to be believed that Roosevelt desired a third term as President. On one of the regular Sunday night gatherings in Garner's hotel apartment, which RAYBURN, I and other regularly attended, Garner said:

"If Roosevelt runs I will oppose his nomination in every way I can. I would be against a third term on principle even if I approved every act of Roosevelt's two terms. If my own brother were President and wanted to run for a third term I would oppose him. The rule against the third term for a President of the United States has the sanction of history and has been supported by an overwhelming majority of the people."

RAYBURN did not express an opinion on a third term for Roosevelt. Garner fully intended to go back to private life. RAYBURN expected to continue as Democratic leader of the House whoever might be President after January 20, 1941.

Early in August, 1939, RAYBURN announced he favored Garner for President in 1940. RAYBURN did not then believe Roosevelt would want a third term.

On August 23, 1939, homefolk gathered for a Sam Rayburn Day at Denison in a demonstration of thanks for the Denison Dam project. RAYBURN in an address to the gathering said, "History will place President Roosevelt and his accomplishments on the same plane with Washington, Jefferson, and Jackson."

In January 1940, Garner at Uvalde in a 44-word penciled statement said:

"I will accept the nomination for President. I will make no effort to control any delegates. The people should decide. A candidate should be selected in the primaries and conventions as provided by law, and I sincerely trust that all Democrats will participate in them."

There still was no announcement of Roosevelt's intentions regarding a third term when the Texas State Democratic Convention met at Waco in May.

The State convention instructed its delegates for Garner. The convention named RAYBURN as chairman of the Garner delegation to Chicago. I was a delegate at large. Just before I left for Chicago, he told me he wished me to serve as his proxy on the Democratic National Committee and to be his spokesman at Chicago if any occasion arose for it. He said I was to take whatever action I thought best without any consultation with him.

There had recently been some talk and Garner had been felt out—he did not know how authoritatively—on whether he would be receptive to "making it the same old team," meaning a Roosevelt-Garner national ticket for a third time. Garner gave me a letter with the understanding that if at any stage it became a convention floor matter I was to go to the chairman's stand and read the letter telling the convention Mr. Garner would not again take the nomination for Vice President under any circumstances.

President Roosevelt had still made no announcement on his attitude toward a third term when the national convention delegates assembled in Chicago, but it was now certain that he would be nominated, as he was, on the first ballot. The names of Garner and James A. Farley, however, had been formally presented as presidential candidates but except for the solid support of Texas, Garner received only a few other convention votes.

Following the nomination of Roosevelt, RAYBURN sought and obtained from a caucus endorsement of his candidacy for Vice President. Later President Roosevelt telephoned RAYBURN that he wished Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace as his vice-presidential ticket mate.

Roosevelt asked RAYBURN to second Wallace's nomination as Vice President. This RAYBURN agreed to do, withdrawing his own vice-presidential candidacy.

A considerable portion of the convention rebelled against the choice of Wallace. Efforts were made to bring Federal Loan Administrator Jesse H. Jones, of Texas, Gov. Paul C. McNutt, of Indiana, and others into the race but all declined.

Speaker William B. Bankhead, of Alabama, however, did enter the race and sought RAYBURN's backing. RAYBURN could never understand why Bankhead with his uncertain health wished the nomination. Moreover, RAYBURN had already pledged his support of Wallace.

RAYBURN also moved to have a Texas caucus endorse Wallace, but instead the Texans by a majority vote went for Bankhead under the unit rule.

At a bitter, howling night session of the convention on July 18, Wallace was chosen over Bankhead, 626 to 329.

RAYBURN came back to Washington to resume his duties for the session of Congress which was to continue for the remainder of the year. There was a heavy program of national defense measures to be considered including the controversial extension of the drafting of men for military service.

Less than 2 months later Bankhead was dead and RAYBURN was Speaker.

SAM RAYBURN became the 42d Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives on September 16, 1940.

A solemn and saddened body of men elected him to be their presiding officer without a dissenting vote and in a transaction that lasted less than 2 minutes.

With the casket bearing the body of his predecessor, William B. Bankhead, in front of the Speaker's dais, RAYBURN held up his right hand and quietly said "I do" as the oath was administered by Representative Adolph Sabath, of Illinois, the oldest Member of the House in years of service.

RAYBURN's name was placed in nomination by Representative John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts, who explained that it would be necessary to elect a Speaker at the time in order that the House might continue to function properly and that the election was being held "with profound respect for the memory of the beloved Speaker who has just left us."

No other name was placed in nomination and Republicans as well as Democrats joined in the chorus of "ayes" that made RAYBURN Speaker.

RAYBURN made no acceptance speech. His only remarks as the oath was completed were the usual "The House will be in order." The House immediately held a state funeral for Bankhead who had died on Sunday, after his most recent illness had lasted only 2 or 3 days.

Three Speakers—Rainey, Byrns, and Bankhead—had died in the 6 years before the election of RAYBURN, whose ascendancy to that post a few days more than 21 years ago, was to be marked by an incumbency far exceeding that of any of his 41 predecessors.

It was written of RAYBURN at the time, that he once had a head of hair and a middle name, but had dropped both; that he had one of the baldest and most level heads in Congress.

He was the fourth man from west of the Mississippi to be elected Speaker, the others being Garner, Champ Clark, of Missouri, and D. B. Henderson, of Iowa.

When I saw RAYBURN for the first time after his election to what had always been his ultimate goal he had just returned from the funeral of the late Speaker Bankhead in Alabama.

"Well," he said, "it's a fur piece from Flag Springs."

"Fur piece" was a favorite RAYBURN colloquialism for "great distance," and Flag Springs was the little one-room schoolhouse in the Texas blacklands which RAYBURN had attended.

"And," he continued, "I still can't realize I'm Speaker."

The Speaker of the House of Representatives is a powerful figure in the Federal Government.

He is the real leader of the majority party in the House if he is a strong man, a policy consultant and legislative chieftain for the President, and the next official after the Vice President in the Presidential succession. It is only in protocol and presidential succession that a Speaker ranks behind the Vice President. The powers of the speakership are second only to those exercised by the President.

He, too, as the titular leader of the most numerous branch of Congress, is its spokesman, and by tradition is expected to uphold the dignity and independence of the House of Representatives against all comers. The House must have felt strongly that RAYBURN did not fail it there, for it became the custom twice a year—on his birthday and the anniversary of his elevation to the speakership—for party lines to vanish as Republicans and Democrats showered encomiums on him.

Only twice in the 21 years after he ascended the Speaker's rostrum did RAYBURN surrender the gavel. In 2 years each in the 80th and 82d Congress Joseph W. Martin, of Massachusetts, RAYBURN's close personal friend, presided over Republican Houses.

In that long period RAYBURN was many times the center of momentous happenings. RAYBURN himself said that the day he probably felt his responsibility the most deeply was on August 12, 1941.

On that day the question of extending the Selective Service Act was up for a vote in the House. Most of the thousands of soldiers who had entered the Army had done so with the understanding their service and training would be for only 1 year. There was war in Europe, but this country had stayed out of it.

The pleas of the War Department was that it would be catastrophic if the Army was allowed to disband were met by a demand of thousands of parents that the Government keep its contract to let their sons out of the service.

Flag-carrying mothers in groups called on individual House Members as the Draft Act was debated, asking them to oppose extension. The galleries were filled as the rollcall began. It was nip and tuck all the way.

Those of us in the Press Gallery found our tally sheets in disagreement. Even RAYBURN did not know which side had won. The tally clerk turned and handed him a slip of paper.

"On this vote," the Speaker announced, "203 Members have voted 'aye,' 202 Members have voted 'no,' and the bill is passed." By his quick action Rayburn had frozen the situation, for no Member can change his vote after the result of a rollcall is announced.

There was one other maneuver remaining for opponents of draft extension—to ask for a recapitulation. This Representative Dewey Short, of Missouri, demanded and, because the vote had been so close, Rayburn allowed it. Again the roll was called. As it was finished Rayburn quickly announced: "No correction in the vote; the vote stands, and the bill is passed, and without objection a motion to reconsider is laid on the table."

Again Short arose and demanded reconsideration. That move was estopped by Rayburn's announcement that "without objection the motion is laid upon the table."

Representative H. Carl Andersen, of Minnesota, got the floor to say: "I beg to differ with the Speaker. The Speaker did not announce that a motion to reconsider had been tabled."

"The Chair has twice stated that he did make the statement," the Speaker replied.

"I beg to differ with you——" the Minnesotan began. Rayburn cut him short, with:

"The Chair does not intend to have his word questioned by the gentleman from Minnesota or anyone else."

By the one vote the House had kept the Selective Service Act operating. Less than 4 months later the Japs struck at Pearl Harbor. But for the retention of the draft law the Army would have been demobilizing instead of mobilizing when the United States went into a world war for the second time in a quarter of a century.

Heads of state and world statesmen came to the Halls of Congress for addresses during Rayburn's long tenure as Speaker. Returning war heroes came there, too.

Rayburn presided over such occasions. The most moving were the wartime address of Winston Churchill, the return of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, after being relieved by President Truman of his Far East command, and the return of the hero of Corregidor—Gen. Jonathan Wainwright.

Of the $350 billion we spent in fighting World War II, much of it was for secret purposes, and Rayburn would go before the appropriation comittees to ask for the funds. A case in point was the atom bomb. Rayburn himself at first did not know what the money was for. Many Members of Congress did not know of the atom bomb development until the first one had been dropped in Japan.

Among the other measures to carry on the war and prepare the Nation before it was directly in war which RAYBURN guided through the House were the repeal of the Neutrality Act, the arming of merchant ships, the laws granting war powers to the President, and the price control bills.

Until after World War II RAYBURN attended few Washington dinners or social affairs. He once said:

"One reason I don't go to these society dinners is that they don't serve chili."

He liked to give chili and tamale dinners for small groups of congenial people.

There are some social functions in Washington that a Speaker of the House is forced to attend, and others that he cannot gracefully avoid.

The Speaker's dinner at the White House is a fixed state event. During her lifetime his spinster sister Lucinda (Miss Lou) would go with him to these dinners. After her death his widowed sisters, Mrs. Thomas, and Mrs. Bartley, would go with him.

His annual birthday party on January 6 was another ritual. He gave a few big parties himself.

At the end of a social season during Miss Lou's lifetime he would say he was pining for some "crumbin."

"Crumbin" was a Lone Star species of corn bread that Miss Lou was especially skilled in baking.

RAYBURN had never crossed either ocean, a record he still held when he entered Baylor Hospital at Dallas in early October 1961. He made one trip to Panama, his first year in Congress. He also spent a vacation in Mexico City. But year after year when his colleagues scattered toward the Parisian boulevards, Waikiki Beach or other faraway places with strange sounding names, RAYBURN headed back to his Texas farm.

"When I get away from here I don't want to go anywhere in the world but home to see my lovely country, to see what little possessions I have, and to associate with my brothers and sisters and my other blood and my old friends," he once said.

RAYBURN was slow to take up air travel. Asked one day in the 1940's if he was going to fly down to his Texas home for Christmas, he said: "I am going, but I won't fly. I like to travel by train. Takes 2 nights and a day to get home that way, and the best rest I ever get in during that time. I spend most of it reading a wild west magazine. I went up in an airplane once, back in 1935. Made up my mind never to do it again."

"But, Mr. Speaker," a friend protested, "you've no idea how air travel has improved since then. Why if you took a trip to Texas by plane now, you'd never go any other way."

"That," answered RAYBURN with a twinkle, "is exactly what I am afraid of."

During the 80th Congress when he was not Speaker he made the trips in a big, long, black 1947 Cadillac, which constituted a very sincere compliment to him. Early in 1947 every Democrat in the House contributed $25 to buy the automobile for their leader.

In his latter years he began to use airplanes exclusively for his trips home.

PART 7

SAM RAYBURN's rank among the Speakers of the House of Representatives will be for history and not his own contemporaries to fix.

The two who prior to him got the highest ranking were Thomas Brackett Reed and Joseph G. Cannon. Henry Clay, who before RAYBURN had served longest, was never ranked as a great House presiding officer.

Reed, a fin de siècle figure, served a broken 6 years—two in the administration of Benjamin Harrison, two in the administration of Grover Cleveland and two in the administration of William McKinley.

A huge mountain of a man, a downeaster from Maine, Reed, a brilliant lawyer, was the possessor of a devastating tongue, and could wither an opponent with a word, or with a sentence at most.

Cannon, an Illinois man, although born in North Carolina and of southern stock, served 8 years in the Theodore Roosevelt-William Howard Taft administrations. He was undoubtedly the most colorful Speaker in history.

I, of course, never saw Reed. With "Uncle Joe" Cannon I had a delightful friendship when he was no longer Speaker and a very old man. He was then no longer the gladiator he had been. He was lefthanded and did wonderful things with his southpaw when he spoke and those gestures alone would fill the Press Gallery when he arose to speak.

Both Reed and Cannon were Republicans and arch conservatives—"standpatters" in the idiom of their day. Both ruled the House with a tight rein. Garner was somewhat in the Reed and Cannon image, but Garner was Speaker for only 2 years.

There was no doubt RAYBURN was the leader of the House, but he had a method of his own, which had the appearance of being a leader among and not of the House Members. It worked exceedingly well for him.

Reed constantly clashed with Presidents. Uncle Joe Cannon could tell Theodore Roosevelt, as he did, that the House can take care of its reputation and its dignity in its own way. RAYBURN had good relations with the four Presidents who served while he was Speaker.

"The best way to get along is to go along," is a widely quoted piece of advice given by RAYBURN to young Members of the House. The inference might be that they should bend gently to leadership orders.

RAYBURN stated it better when 400 Texans in Washington turned out to honor him at a dinner when he was elected majority leader: "I expect to tell the President my convictions and at times may argue with him, but when he and the leaders of Congress have agreed upon a definite program, I will be for it 100 percent," he said.

John Nance Garner long before had said:

"In party government you have to take some things you do not like. Party policy is the composite judgment of the party obtained in elections, conventions, caucuses and conferences. There must be discipline and responsibility and when a program is decided on everybody has to fall into line."

On another occasion RAYBURN said: "I have never asked a man to cast a vote which would violate his conscience or wreck him politically. In an overwhelming majority of the cases the Members in the House of Representatives vote for what they think is the best interest of the country."

RAYBURN got credit for running the House with a firm but fair hand—a man who used the arts of persuasion rather than coercion. He once said: "The greatest ambition a man can have is to be known as a just man." Richard M. Nixon, when he was Vice President, said: "There has never been a better or a greater Speaker than SAM RAYBURN."

Nixon made that statement on March 12, 1959, when he and 46 Senators who got their legislative feet wet in the House of Representatives presented RAYBURN with a silver tray bearing their inscribed signatures to be placed in the Rayburn Memorial Library at Bonham.

It is a novel experience to see a contemporary live to become a patriarch as RAYBURN did during my time in Washington. In that time also he became a legend, a Washington institution, and a pillar of Congress.

The most valuable thing RAYBURN got from Garner was "savvy"—an understanding of the House and the men and women who compose its membership, of which there is no greater cross-section of human nature. Most of them have fierce personal ambitions and nearly all of them feel they themselves have all the attributes and qualifications of leadership. All are elected and have constituencies. Year after year RAYBURN became more and more the counselor and father-confessor of House Members. He saw nearly all of them privately at some time each session in his big ornate formal office across the corridor from the House Chamber.

There was also the smaller back office near the middle of the Capitol where he relaxed with friends. Vice President Harry S. Truman was there in this little hideaway with RAYBURN and a kindred group when he was summoned to the White House to be told that Franklin D. Roosevelt was dead and he was President of the United States.

There are persons of all professions in Congress. RAYBURN, a lawyer, said it made no difference what their calling had been, if they had character and commonsense.

"When a person has commonsense, he has got all the sense there is," he said. "It all depends upon what is done with it."

Into this office daily also came prominent private citizens, Cabinet officers, committee chairmen, and party leaders, large and small. Some slightly eccentric characters at times got through the portals.

"Every few days," RAYBURN said, "some fellow comes in here and says: 'Here is the biggest question that confronts the human race.' I say: 'Yes, the fellow who passed you in the door going out, he had the biggest one, too.' "

A rather sad-faced man, some visitors got the idea RAYBURN was a worrier. He said he wasn't, that when he went to bed he went right to sleep: "If I can't do my job standing on my feet, I sure can't do it lying in bed worrying."

An aide once told how RAYBURN managed to see so many people and do so many things in a day. A telephone call took him 3 minutes, even if it was with the President of the United States. Five or ten minutes was enough for a conference, even on a complicated problem. He never wrote letters longer than a page. He was never prodigal with words.

He became affectionately known to the Nation as Mr. SAM. That happy designation came about in this way: There were still at home in Bonham a rather large Rayburn family. There was unmarried Lucinda. SAM always called this sister "Miss Lu," even when he was speaking to her. The neighbors took to designating the brothers as "Mr. Tom," "Mr. Jim," "Mr. Sam," and "Mr. Dick."

The custom spread over his congressional district as far as "Mr. SAM" was concerned. Hope Ridings Miller, a young woman from Sherman, came to Washington and became the writer of a social column. She began to refer to the Speaker as "Mr. SAM" as she had always heard him referred to in her Texas home.

Then suddenly, a decade or so ago, everyone seemed suddenly to realize how felicitous the appellation was. Henceforth he was to be "Mr. SAM."

When an effort was made to boom RAYBURN for Vice President in 1944, he showed no desire to change from the speakership which he by then held, although most persons believed that if Franklin D. Roosevelt were reelected in that year he would not live out his fourth term. The nomination went to Harry S. Truman, who did quickly succeed to the Presidency.

There was a move among Texans and in other States to offer him for President in 1952, and he gave no assistance to it. In 1956 and 1960 he strongly backed the presidential candidacy of Senator Lyndon B. Johnson.

He refused the offer of permanent chairman of the 1960 Los Angeles Democratic National Convention to work for Johnson's nomination and to make the speech placing his fellow Texas in nomination.

Although RAYBURN never admitted it he became convinced soon after he reached Los Angeles that Kennedy had the nomination sewed up. He sat in his seat, second from the aisle, among Texas delegates, when Johnson was defeated by Kennedy. The next day Johnson was chosen as Kennedy's vice-presidential ticket mate.

The one native Texan he saw elected to the Presidency was Dwight D. Eisenhower, a Republican, and RAYBURN, as a Democrat, naturally did not like that, although Eisenhower always referred to himself as RAYBURN's "constituent."

On RAYBURN's 79th birthday Eisenhower sent him a telegram saying:

"I am happy to have been born in your congressional district (at Denison) because I prize your friendship and respect your many years of outstanding service to our country."

RAYBURN recently scoffed at a statement that this country has lost many of its ancient liberties.

"What liberties have we lost?" he asked. "The American boy and girl today can say what he pleases, think what he pleases, and choose his way of life freely as long as he does not trespass on someone else.

"We have amended our Federal Constitution 23 times, but we have every single liberty we had when the Constitution was written in 1787."

One of RAYBURN's greatest prides is the Sam Rayburn Library in Bonham, his Red River Valley hometown. RAYBURN started it back in 1948 with $10,000 which a magazine gave him as an award for outstanding public service.

Friends took over and contributions came from nearly every State in the Union. More than $400,000 was contributed. It was dedicated and opened in 1957. Into it have gone, or will go, his books, his official and personal papers, and all the treasured mementoes he has collected in his lifetime. It is operated by the Sam Rayburn Foundation.

His love for the Capitol Building has been well known and from the beginning of his speakership he exhibited a proprietary interest in it. He fought for years against formidable and vocal opposition to effect changes in the east front he thought necessary and advisable.

The RAYBURN-directed extension of the Capitol's east front, which moved the familiar east exterior of the building 32½ feet east of its original location, will be fully completed January 1 at a cost of $15 million.

The east front has been called the Texas front by some because Vice President Johnson and Speaker RAYBURN each were to have had a handsome suite of offices there—Johnson's office to the right of the rotunda and RAYBURN's to the left.

An $86 million New House Office Building, rising to the west of the present two House Office Buildings, will owe its construction mostly to RAYBURN. It is to be completed by late 1963. Representative Walter Judd, Republican, of Minnesota, has introduced a bill to name it the Rayburn Office Building and this will probably come about.

Speaker RAYBURN came back for the opening of Congress in January peppery and vigorous. At the start of the session he succeeded in enlarging the Rules Committee as a means of easing the way for administration bills.

But the House rebelled at some of the Kennedy bills and it was a thorny session for RAYBURN; by the end of the session after he had gone back to Texas ill, the administration was taking a steady beating in the House.

RAYBURN thought his ailment was lumbago and to most of Washington it was inconceivable that he would not come bouncing back for the 1962 session of Congress. Then came the unhappy tidings of his serious illness.

The National Capital misses him.

"Speaker RAYBURN will always live in the history of a grateful Republic as one of the greatest public servants we have ever had," said Representative Clarence Brown, Republican, of Ohio.

That, I think, is the way most of RAYBURN's contemporaries feel.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

[From the Houston Post, Nov. 17, 1961]

MR. SPEAKER-MR. DEMOCRAT—SAM RAYBURN LOVED PEOPLE, EVEN ABOVE CHERISHED PARTY

(By Jim Mathis)

WASHINGTON.—A whole political era passed with House Speaker SAM RAYBURN.

He was Mr. SAM to generations of Texans; Mr. Democrat to legions of Democrats and Republicans, and Mr. Speaker to thousands of Congressmen with whom he served for half a century.

He served as a Member of Congress under eight Presidents. To four of them—Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy—he was confidant, adviser, instructor, friend, and at times, savior.

And although a giant in his country's Government in an age of organization, RAYBURN was until the last the hip pocket politician who leaned solely upon hard-earned personal prestige and simple rules of conduct. The ways of highly geared and detailed operations with polished assistants were not his. He dealt man to man. He built solidly upon truth, kindness, good reasons, honor, and fair play.

In the course of an ordinary day as presiding officer of the House of Representatives, RAYBURN would see and talk with up to 100 persons, from the President to east Texas constituents. He took no notes, had no secretary or recording equipment standing by.

"How do you keep all this straight?" he was asked recently.

It was really simple, replied RAYBURN:

"You tell them the truth the first time, and you don't have to remember. You just tell them the same thing the second time."

The length of service recorded by RAYBURN is historical. He went to Congress on March 4, 1913, at the beginning of the administration of Woodrow Wilson.

After 27 years, he became Speaker at the age of 58. On June 12, 1961, he doubled the 3,056 days Henry Clay served as Speaker.

His 48 years and 8 months in the House far exceeded the 45 years, 8 months, and 2 days of consecutive service by Adolph Joseph Sabath, of Illinois. In 1958, he quietly passed the 46 years of nonconsecutive service set by Joseph Cannon, of Missouri.

Only Senator Carl Hayden, of Arizona, who came to Congress with his State's entry into the Union in 1912, has served longer in Congress.

But RAYBURN looked upon these records with distant pride. His close interest lay with what he accomplished in the day by day, year by year, and decade by decade march of events through Congress.

He was an ardent supporter of Woodrow Wilson, and as a freshman Congressman, wrote an early part of the Wilson program to regulate railroads. In 1917 it was Rayburn who sponsored the first act to give insurance for soldiers and sailors, the first allotments to families, the first disability payments to wounded servicemen.

When the great depression rolled in, and brought Franklin D. Roosevelt with it, Rayburn was chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. The veteran Rayburn fathered in the next few years the really enduring works of the Roosevelt New Deal. He wrote the Truth-in-Securities Act; the Railroad Holding Company Act; the bills creating the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Federal Communications Commission; the Public Utility Holding Company Act, and the Rural Electrification Act.

Democrats chose Rayburn in 1937 as their majority leader. In this capacity, he guided the controversial Roosevelt legislation through bitter fights in the House.

On September 16, 1940, he was sworn in as Speaker to finish a term of Representative William Bankhead. Below the rostrum where he took his oath, Bankhead's body lay in state. Rayburn was already a graybeard in service, readied by time and experience for the role of leader in Congress in the war years just ahead.

To him, on August 12, 1941, fell the awful responsibility of preserving the Selective Service Act that was to keep this country preparing for the fateful blow at Pearl Harbor.

He did so by one vote, coupling this narrow margin with determined rapping of his gavel which prevented reconsideration. Only a man of strong convictions and strong will could have faced down the uproarious Members of the House that day; only a persuasive leader could have gotten the bare margin from reluctant Members. But he saved the draft, and perhaps the country.

In postwar years, through the Truman administration and that of Mr. Eisenhower, Rayburn often carried the brunt of efforts to extend aid around the world to stem communism. He and Mr. Truman were close personal friends—Mr. Truman was with Rayburn when word came of Mr. Roosevelt's death.

Until Mr. Truman served out the Roosevelt fourth term, Rayburn was second in succession to the Presidency.

With the sweep of the Republican Party and Mr. Eisenhower in 1952, Rayburn was confronted along with other Democrats with the job of picking up pieces of their shattered party. His wise counsel, followed by Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, then majority leader in the Senate, kept Democrats from unreasoning opposition. The responsibility exemplified by RAYBURN, in those days when the true party leaders were in Congress, did more than anything else to rebuild confidence in the Democratic Party.

It has often been written that the House speakership was the pinnacle of RAYBURN's ambitions.

He is quoted correctly in saying that he had "rather be Speaker than any 10 Senators." There is no question that he loved the House, in the simplest and truest meaning of the word "love." But ambitions are not so easily circumscribed.

There was a time when he looked with quiet longing and the barest of admissions to close friends at the Presidency. He knew the powers and potentials which rest in the White House. But Roosevelt chose a third term, and then a fourth. The Presidency rolled beyond RAYBURN's grasp as age mounted.

Even so, fate would have ruled RAYBURN President, had he chosen right. He could have had the nomination for the Vice-Presidency in 1944, but asked that his name be withdrawn.

Mr. Truman accepted the offer from Roosevelt and went on to the Presidency. Characteristically, RAYBURN shrugged off the loss and stumped the South for Mr. Truman in 1948. He may have meant the difference for the beleaguered Truman.

And so RAYBURN came to be wholly satisfied with the speakership, the second most powerful position in Washington. In later years, he was to direct his efforts at placing his prize protege, Vice President Johnson, in the White House.

RAYBURN is one who followed his own advice on leadership—be a follower first. From his years of comparative obscurity, he absorbed and refined his own thinking on leadership to some simple precepts.

Where possible, he worked quietly behind the scenes in shaping legislation, with a word here, a whispered consultation there, or a meeting over bourbon and water in his side room, called "the board of education." He preferred persuasion, but could lace recalcitrant Members with some pungent directives if necessary.

"SAM always said 'we've got to get the hell out of here' just when I got in fights over appropriations," fierce old Representative Clarence Cannon, Democrat, of Missouri, has said.

But wherever he could, RAYBURN liked to work with kindness and good reasons. He sought the possible, seldom insisting on all he wanted or using all his powers as Speaker. He liked to label his give-a-little, take-a-little attitude as "applied Christianity."

RAYBURN had advice based upon his own formula for success and longevity for new Members of Congress. The average turnover in Congress is 150 seats every 2 years, and in RAYBURN's time, he served with more than 3,000 Members. He told his new charges to work hard, listen and not talk too much, master the issues, learn the rules of the House, and to follow the party leadership unless there were overwhelming reasons to do otherwise.

He summed up this portion of his advice in one sentence: "The way to get along is to go along."

His additional advice was for Members to consider their folks at home, but not forget the other Members of the House; to go home every chance they got, but not while big legislation was up, and to go easy on the Washington social whirl.

For new Members from Texas he had similar paternal advice, but added one positive order, no 10-gallon white hats and boots while in the House. One present Member can still remember the scorching he got for breaking the Speaker's rule against home State ostenstation.

RAYBURN was a stickler for the dignity of his House, and believed in its collective commonsense to an unusual degree for a man so close so long. He looked upon the Members as a cross section of the best America had.

"They are the best jury I ever saw a man tried before," RAYBURN once said.

Occasionally, RAYBURN would hold his own trial—and once he found a man wanting, that man was relegated to obscurity, or at best, to talkative impotence. The Speaker was more likely to do this to uncooperative Texans.

In later years, RAYBURN mellowed in attitude toward opposition, personal or party. Not long ago, he said that there was no longer a man alive for whom he felt enmity. He had gotten, RAYBURN said, all hatred out of his soul, even for those who had spoken most unkindly of him.

Publicly grumpy—some newsmen always referred to him with a mixture of fear and admiration as a "crusty old warhorse"—RAYBURN was in reality a much more complex personality. If he seemed a hard, tough driver in the Congress, in his personal dealings he was often sentimental, melancholy, lonely, and seeking companionship. He had a dignity that stayed any excessive familiarity, but he could be deeply kind and warmhearted.

Children moved him easily. He kept a close watch on the families of Texas Congressmen, and frequently appeared unannounced at birthday parties.

Perhaps the most illustrative of how he could react with unexpected kindness amidst the harshness of Washington is this story told by a reporter, now a top executive for a large northeastern business concern:

"One of our daughters died. The next morning SAM RAYBURN was at our front door. He said he had just come to help out in any way he could. Understand, I was fairly new in the bureau and wasn't important to my paper, and I certainly wasn't important to SAM in any political way.

"But there he was. He helped me make coffee and told our two little girls stories about Texas. I knew he was supposed to go have breakfast with the President at the White House that morning, and at one point I asked him about it.

"He said, 'Yes, but I called the President and told him I had a friend in trouble.' "

This was the same rugged fighter who could tell Roosevelt, who once let his attention wander during a talk to RAYBURN, in an unmistakable tone: "Look here, Mr. President, by God, I'm talking to you. You listen."

And cooperative or not in legislation affecting the Nation, RAYBURN could quietly take the hide off a Republican. He did it in one paragraph to President Eisenhower at the 1956 Democratic convention, despite his awareness of how the folks back home went for "Ike." Said RAYBURN in a speech telecast nationwide:

"Personally, I like President Eisenhower. He was born in the district which I represent and everybody down there who remembers him says he was a good baby. [Laughter.] Then he moved off to Kansas, and after he was 60 years of age he decided he would be a Republican, and I feel sure that, with his troubles with these Republicans in Congress, he regrets every day that fatal decision was made."

Here was another facet of the RAYBURN personality—his fierce party loyalty. Reasonable in the legislative halls—one of his best friends was former Republican Speaker Joseph Martin—RAYBURN could be most unforgiving on the campaign trail. He could like Republicans personally, as he did Mr. Eisenhower, but he could never understand why they were Republicans.

Paradoxically, he deeply resented charges that he put his party before his country, and had a difficult time forgiving those who dared utter such statements. In reckoning back over his record, it would seem he had reason to be angry.

Former President Truman, describing RAYBURN's fairness, had this to say:

"SAM RAYBURN is the only man I know who doesn't have to die to become a statesman."

Mr. Eisenhower recognized the unstinting cooperation of RAYBURN off the campaign trail, too. Once, before an embarrassed but proud RAYBURN, Mr. Eisenhower paused in a state of the Union message to give birthday congratulations.

Probably RAYBURN's happiest moments came at the national conventions of his party. When he stood as chairman in the glare of the lights, enveloped in the physical animal noise from the floor, gavelling his beloved party along another search for a candidate, RAYBURN appeared in his zenith. His nod was fortune to those below, and the cold unseeing glance passing a delegate could mean ruin to the most carefully laid plans. And he could freeze a wandering, playful delegate with one look.

For three consecutive Democratic conventions—1948, 1952, and 1956—RAYBURN served as permanent chairman. No other man in the history of the party presided over so many. He stepped aside in 1960 to push the fortunes of Vice President Johnson.

The fact that no convention ever followed his advice about its candidate after Mr. Truman didn't seem to dim the Speaker's pleasure in the rough contact of convention politics.

He ignored lobbyist pressure, but was quick to respond to the scrawled, sometimes semi-illiterate letters from farmers in his district.

RAYBURN had been solidly shaped by his early contact with hard working, Bible-reading people who make up his immediate family and the voters in much of his home counties. His liberal attitude toward any legislation designed to help the people, and a positive suspicion of giant business, were cornerstones of his political philosophy. He was, in final quality, a product of America's democratic processes, drawn from poor and hardy stock and molded over an expanse of 50 years in a decidedly Democratic cast.

SAMUEL TALIAFERRO RAYBURN was born of Scot-Irish parents in the mountains of east Tennessee on the banks of the Clinch River in Roane County on January 6, 1882.

His father was William Marion Rayburn, a onetime Confederate cavalryman who lost everything, including his horse, in the course of the war and died years later still hating Yankees. The mother was Martha Waller Rayburn, of a Virginia family. SAM RAYBURN was the eighth of 11 children.

When the future Speaker was 5, the father sold his Tennessee farm and went to Texas. There he bought 40 acres of land in Fannin County and renewed his struggle against poverty. There was food enough, but everybody had to work for it, and the work was from "can to can't," or from dawn to dark.

RAYBURN remembered the bleakness of that early childhood as long as he lived. His sense of loneliness flowed from it. He once told friends:

"Many a time when I was a child and lived way out in the country, I'd sit on the fence and wish to God that somebody would ride by on a horse or drive by in a buggy—just anything to relieve my loneliness. Loneliness consumes people. It kills 'em eventually. God help the lonely."

His interest in politics stemmed from age 10. That year he rode the family horse 12 miles to Bonham to hear Senator Joseph Weldon Bailey, his hero, speak. By 13, his mind was made up on a political career. At 17, he accepted the $25 his father had to offer and entered East Texas Normal College in Commerce. For the rest of his living while in school, he swept floors, milked cows, and rang the college bell. He dropped out after a year to teach, returned after a year, then quit to mix teaching and politics.

Rayburn was 24 when he decided to run for the State legislature. His entire family dropped everything to campaign for him, a practice they followed until it was no longer needed. The Rayburns were a strong force for any local politician. Their man won easily.

In Austin, during the sessions, he attended the University of Texas and passed the bar examination. He was reelected twice, and in his third term at only 29 years of age he was elected speaker of the Texas house. His age record was to stand for 40 years, although Rayburn later admitted he got through the session "by God, by desperation, and by ignorance."

A year later, he was elected to Congress from the district in which he grew up, and his last career began. Although he had some mean opposition, in later campaigns he never was seriously threatened.

Here in Washington, Rayburn had lived since 1928 in a modest second-floor apartment as a bachelor. He was married and divorced early in life. He never remarried.

The Speaker brought only close friends to his apartment for long evenings of talk. His meals were usually sent in from a nearby restaurant, but occasionally Rayburn opened a can of tamales sent to him from Texas. He did not cook chili.

Sometimes he sat at the table on a small wooden bench, much the same kind of bench rural people used in his childhood.

Rayburn could have lived in much fancier surroundings. His pay as Speaker was $35,000 a year, and he got another $10,000 for expenses. His benefits of office also included an official limousine and a driver. But outward trappings did not impress him. He saw too much of them in the swirl of high-level Washington society to feel enchanted.

Rayburn made courtesy calls to many social events, but much preferred to spend an evening at home with his friends or with one of his sisters who were frequent guests in Washington.

For years he bypassed expensive parties planned for his birthday for a quiet dinner with a couple from his hometown.

His free time was filled with books, usually history or western novels, and some quick fishing trips. One of the strange sights of the city was Rayburn loading his plain fishing gear into the long limousine for a day out.

SAM RAYBURN

His heart was always in Texas, there in the black farming land, in his white frame home, with his family, among neighbors, with his white-faced Herefords, the turnip greens, and the trees.

One day in Washington, he looked down from Capitol plaza where he liked to stroll, across the grassy mall that rolls westward to the Washington Monument, and remarked:

"It's beautiful down there in Texas, too. Not many hills, but rolling prairie land. And that black land is 40 feet deep. There doesn't seem to be any bottom to it."

Hardly had his gavel fallen for the adjournment of a session before RAYBURN was on his way to Bonham. For years he went only by train, scorning the airplane. But one day he went with President Eisenhower to Texas by plane, and once he tasted the speed, only a jet would move him homeward fast enough.

Back in Bonham, RAYBURN could be seen beating about the countryside in a pickup truck, or until he got too old, aboard a high-priced cutting horse misnamed Pansy.

He kept in shape by cutting wood with double-bitted ax, but never, his friends said, enough "to get calluses on his hands." He was notoriously inept about things mechanical, and had trouble backing up his truck.

RAYBURN never traveled abroad, except for one early trip to Panama.

His health held up for years. His first trouble, the first sign of age, came in his 79th year in the form of backaches. He seemed to wither rapidly thereafter.

He was a stocky man, seldom straying far one way or the other from his 175-pound level. He stood 5 feet 10 inches, and was quite aware of his shortness.

His face had set in a heavy saturnine pattern. In later years, all that was left of his once heavy brown hair was a thin fringe that rimmed his bald head under his hat brim. Finally, even that hair disappeared. He was most solicitous of the bare head in the cold winds of Washington.

A few years back, his eyes dimmed and he could not read. His assistants read what he could not hear. He had trouble recognizing people at short distances.

One step in the process of awareness of age—like that of ridding the soul of hate—was the link he formed at 74 with the church of his father. He was quietly baptized into the Primitive Baptist Church of Tioga, Tex., in 1956.

He had never before found the time for formal ties with a church, although a professed God-fearing man.

From that point, RAYBURN seemed to have come almost the full circle—from the people of east Texas and back to his folks. He completed it.

[From the Pecos Daily News, Oct. 11, 1961]

PROUD SAGA OF SAM RAYBURN BEGAN WITH LONELY YOUTH

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—William F. Arbogast, chief of the AP staff covering the House of Representatives, takes a long look at SAM RAYBURN, who has made an indelible imprint on U.S. politics. In discussing the RAYBURN saga, Arbogast writes not only as a close observer, but also as a friend of the Speaker.)

(By William F. Arbogast)

WASHINGTON.—The political saga of SAM RAYBURN nears its tragic end today.

The end isn't likely to find that hero of the SAM RAYBURN story proudly and authoritatively wielding the gavel of the highest office he ever sought. Instead, physicians have decreed for "Mr. Democrat" a less majestic fadeout, a victim of cancer.

But if the end comes soon—as doctors say it must—it will find SAM RAYBURN still officially holding the title of Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives. The House is in recess. It won't meet again until January 10.

The story of SAM RAYBURN is the story of a lonely little boy helping grub a living out of Texas cotton land and dreaming of a future in politics.

It is the story of a dream come true in the face of adversity and obstacles which would have discouraged a less determined man.

SAM RAYBURN wasn't born to be Speaker of the House. He got there on his own.

He was born to be a farmer and at farming he spent his early life, first in his native Tennessee and then in Texas, which his father adopted as a permanent home for the Rayburn family of 11 children.

As a boy, SAM RAYBURN's life was one of toil and monotony.

"When I was a boy," he once said, "I would sit on a fence on Sundays and wish that somebody would ride by on a horse—just anything to relieve the monotony."

He surprised almost everyone by seeking election to the Texas House of Representatives at the politically tender age of 24.

He won, and became at the age of 29, the youngest speaker in the history of the Texas Legislature.

In 1912, at the age of 30, RAYBURN achieved a burning ambition—election to the U.S. House of Representatives. He has been there ever since.

He rose to the chairmanship of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and to the floor leadership of his party. Then in 1940, when the speakership was vacated by the death of William Bankhead, of Alabama, he won the job.

Except for 4 interrupted years when Republicans were in control, RAYBURN has held it ever since. His tenure as Speaker set a record.

If RAYBURN ever aspired to higher public office, he never disclosed his aspirations. He loved the House.

He brought to the speakership a mixture of "the stern guidance and loving care" which he said his parents gave to him. Between the two courses, he sought compromise.

RAYBURN left no doubt about who was boss of the House when he held the gavel. He believed that "if you lose control for even a split second, you are in serious trouble." He never lost control. When gavel-tapping failed to produce results, gavel-banging did. RAYBURN broke more gavels than did any of his predecessors.

Presidents addressed him as "Mr. Speaker." Without his help they were in trouble on Capitol Hill, and most of the eight under whom he served knew it. He did not hesitate to "tell them off" in plain English.

RAYBURN brooked no meddling in the affairs of the House. To him it is the greatest deliberative body in the world. He was jealous of its powers and prerogatives. He respected the Senate but often gave the impression that he considered it bush league compared with the House.

As Speaker, RAYBURN was a backroom operator. When he needed votes, he went after them. By personal persuasion, cajolery or threats if necessary, he frequently snatched victory from seeming defeat.

But he never asked a colleague to vote against personal conviction. He put loyalty to conscience, country, and party in that order.

He called himself a Democrat without any ifs, ands or buts.

To the chairmanship of three Democratic National Conventions, RAYBURN carried the same vigor and at times seeming arbitrariness which marked his rule over the House.

Television viewers will long remember the scowls and defiant glares with which he nipped convention uprisings. He was the boss, and he left no doubt about it.

RAYBURN enjoyed few things more than a good fight. He won more than he lost.

He failed to win presidential nominations for two fellow Texans, John Nance Garner in 1932 and 1940, and Lyndon B. Johnson in 1960.

He laid his personal prestige on the line last January when he championed enlargement of the House Rules Committee. He had his way by a slim edge, but whether he actually won is debatable. The Rules Committee still doesn't jump every time the House leaders crack the whip.

On the subject of leadership, RAYBURN had a homespun saying: "A man doesn't learn his job in the House until he's had his head damn near well bloodied a couple of times, but a leader may as well quit if his head is bloodied too often."

Opponents complained at times that he was harsh, arbitrary, dictatorial. But in the same voice they conceded fairness.

RAYBURN insisted on respect for the office of Speaker, if not for the man who held the office.

To him the title "Mr. Speaker" was honor and glory enough for any man.

Last June 12, when RAYBURN doubled Henry Clay's record of almost 8½ years as Speaker, colleagues poured forth tribute to RAYBURN.

Fighting back tears, "Mr. Speaker" acknowledged them with these words: "My career is crowned. I have achieved everything I ever hoped or desire. When I leave here I will leave without any regrets."

Less than 3 months later he left at the insistence of his doctors.

[From the Austin Statesman, Nov. 17, 1961]

RAYBURN GAINED POLITICAL GREATNESS

(By Frank Eleazer)

SAM RAYBURN never was seen slapping a back. He didn't smile much. He seldom made speeches. He disliked and was disliked by photographers. He kissed beauty queens but rarely a baby. Despite these and other departures from the established tradition he attained political success, world renown, and even love and affection beyond the wildest dreams of most politicians.

RAYBURN not only served in the House longer than any man. He served as House Speaker more than twice as long as his nearest competitor. In his years of splintering gavels he built the job into the Nation's second most powerful, outranked only by the Presidency. He saw made and helped make more history than any of the eight Presidents he served with ("never say 'served under,'" he chided reporters).

This was pretty good going for a poor country boy, born the eighth child of 11 in the Tennessee hills and raised on 40 acres in Texas. With nothing to do but chop cotton and read history books, young RAYBURN had picked his career before he was 10. He built it on $25, hard work, and the will to succeed.

SAM RAYBURN

EARNED $45,000

The money was an unexpected assist from his dad, shoved into SAM's pocket as he climbed aboard a hot, cindery coach on his way to enroll in East Texas Normal. From that day, SAM was on his own. Among his jobs was sweeping floors at the college, for which he earned $3 a month.

As Speaker he earned $45,000 a year. He rode to his fishing holes in an air-conditioned $11,000 limousine, and fished with his chauffeur. He mingled with, and was one of, the great. He was trusted adviser to three Presidents (Roosevelt, Truman, and Kennedy) and had plenty to say, one way or another, about the administration of a fourth (Eisenhower) who preferred to take his advice somewhere else.

If all this went to Mr. SAM's head, it didn't show. And his was a head not built for concealment. RAYBURN was bald as long ago as anybody could remember, and his glistening skull, although sometimes a sensitive subject with RAYBURN, was his trademark. With his Texas-type hat on him. Bareheaded, he was recognized anywhere.

BAROMETER

RAYBURN's scalp served as a barometer of the mood he was in. Normally it displayed a cool, calm gleam, slightly tanned and somewhat freckly. When he was mad, the flush climbed up the back of his neck and encompassed his head. Nobody in his right mind took up any business with RAYBURN when this storm warning was showing.

President Kennedy—who went to the House as a youngster at a time when Speaker RAYBURN had long been a fixture—told of the time when as President, he was in Canada, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson in Asia, and Secretary of State Dean Rusk at Geneva. A high-level call came into the White House switchboard for each of the three in his turn.

"Then who is keeping the store?" Kennedy said the frustrated caller demanded.

"The same man who's always kept it—SAM RAYBURN," the operator was supposed to have answered.

SAM RAYBURN was elected head storekeeper on Capitol Hill on September 16, 1940, on the death of Speaker William B. Bankhead. He had been helping keep it, and learning the trade, as a lawmaker from the Fourth District of Texas since his election in 1912 at age 30.

He took office with President Wilson, who became one of his heroes. From childhood, all RAYBURN's heroes were statesmen.

Politics was the only career he ever considered, and he claimed to have decided at age 8, 9, or thereabouts he would run for the House and sooner or later be elected its Speaker. He liked politicians and thought House Members, especially, were the greatest people on earth. He knew the House was the greatest legislative body on earth, and anybody who in his presence used the term "upper body" to refer to the Senate simply didn't know much about getting along with SAM RAYBURN.

Although his friendship crossed party lines, RAYBURN was a Democrat first, last, and always. Unlike some other members of his party—especially some from the South—RAYBURN always stayed hitched. "Democrats just naturally seem to know better than Republicans how to keep the country runnin' right," was the way he sometimes sized up to political difference.

RAYBURN presided over the Democratic National Conventions of 1948, 1952, and 1956. Through the sheer force of his personality and firm grip on the rules, Mr. SAM from time to time saved them from what appeared to be imminent chaos. One Democratic convention he didn't run was held at Los Angeles in 1960. He stayed on the sidelines then to manage the campaign of his close friend Lyndon Johnson. He thought a Johnson-Kennedy ticket would be great. It turned out vice versa, but only after Johnson cleared with RAYBURN Kennedy's invitation to serve in the second spot on the ticket.

CONTRADICTION

As long ago as April 16, 1955, RAYBURN had become such an institution that more than 3,000 of the Democratic faithful, including Truman, Adlai E. Stevenson, and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, gathered at a $100 per plate Rayburn dinner on an occasion which in previous years had honored Jefferson and Jackson. He had lived 73 years at the time. In all those years few people had seen RAYBURN cry. But this time, he couldn't quite hold back the tears.

Some observers claimed to be baffled by the apparent contradiction of RAYBURN's conservative nature and background and his liberal career at the side of Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, and Kennedy. Those who knew him better said this was easy to fathom. RAYBURN had seen want; he also knew the value of hard work in overcoming it. He did not think the Government should pamper the people. He believed, however, it was necessary sometimes for the Government to step in and give people a chance to get ahead on their own.

It was not out of character therefore that RAYBURN did more than any other man to help Roosevelt push through "New Deal" legislation then considered radical. Later he helped Truman with his

Fair Deal. And when Kennedy's New Frontier came along, with its accent on youth, Rayburn, by then 79, engineered legislative accomplishments about which even young administration men had despaired.

Yet Rayburn was nobody's rubberstamp. When he couldn't go along with a Democratic President's legislative request he usually didn't raise any public fuss about it. He just did not push, and as likely as not, nothing happened. Truman once handed him a civil rights bill which Rayburn thought was ahead of its time. He carried the bill back to Capitol Hill and forgot it. Yet some years later (with the help of Johnson, then Senate leader) he was instrumental in putting a civil rights law on the books. When Kennedy asked Federal help for teachers' salaries in 1961 Rayburn said he would try, but he didn't think much of the idea himself and didn't think the chances were good. The House later proved him right.

As Speaker, Rayburn developed influence and power far exceeding those nominally prescribed for the job. From his election in 1940, he held the job continuously except for the 4 years of the 80th and 83d Republican Congresses, when he served as minority leader. In his conduct of the office he was scrupulously nonpartisan. As his party's leader he sought from fellow Democrats the same kind of party loyalty he practiced himself.

RARELY INTENSE

His leadership was only rarely intense. On most matters House Democrats under his reign didn't get even guidance. Some of them complained about this. Only on the relatively few issues deemed important either as party matters or as vital to the national interest did Rayburn, through "whips," lay down a party position. In some cases, even here, he failed to apply the many pressures that are easily available to a speaker. As a result he found himself sometimes assailed simultaneously for lack of leadership and legislative tyranny.

Overall, even his critics had to admit that Rayburn's performance was good. His friends called it great. They explained that he didn't scatter his shots or waste ammunition on minor matters. It was the same way with his House speeches. He did not make them often. When he did, the Members listened. There were better orators in the House, but none who spoke with as much influence.

Rayburn apparently grew up lonely, as some children do in big families, and lived, essentially, the same way. His early marriage lasted only 3 months. In Washington he lived alone for more than

30 years in the same one-bedroom bachelor apartment. Such meals as he wasn't taking with presidents, kings, prime ministers, and lucky Washington hostesses he had sent in from a restaurant across the street. His most noted failing in later years lay in the fact that new, younger members thought him formidable, stern and beyond approach. As old men do, he scowled a lot. Actually, his friends said, what RAYBURN lacked was small talk.

READY TO HELP

He was elected Speaker 10 times and on each occasion told the new Congress his office just off the House floor was always open to Members. Those who took him up on this found that it was, too. They soon learned in their dealings with Mr. SAM that he had a sympathetic ear for their problems and was always ready to help those with a reasonable case.

"The way to get along is to go along," he often advised newcomers to Congress who sought his advice.

By that he meant don't bother tilting with windmills. RAYBURN never fought lost causes, if he knew they were lost. Some of the more dedicated liberals disliked him for this. In later years they grumbled that RAYBURN no longer was leading, and began to talk about a possible successor.

In the end, though, he bailed them out of their worst predicament and in the process opened the way for Kennedy to put into law some of the social and economic programs he had promised in the 1960 election campaign. Kennedy had squeaked into office himself and the Democratic majority in the House had been trimmed by 19 votes. Mathematically it was easy to prove that Kennedy couldn't put his liberal program across in the House. Besides, there stood in the way the "traffic cop" Committee on Rules, dominated, as it had been for years, by conservatives.

RAYBURN had learned the hard way he no longer could count on his old friend, Representative Howard W. Smith, of Virginia, the Rules chairman, for a Rules clearance in matters where Judge Smith's conservative conscience took charge. Liberals for years had been pressing RAYBURN to break the Rules roadblock that from time to time had stopped liberal measures.

He had resisted their demands for two reasons: First, he thought in a pinch he could always do business with Smith. Second—and the fact was a little-known one—RAYBURN himself had enjoyed the Rules Committee shelter sometimes when the heat was on for a bill that he did not like but did not want to oppose openly.

SAM RAYBURN

A STRUGGLE

This time RAYBURN acted. In a struggle that rocked organization of the House for almost the month of January 1961, he finally whipped Smith by a House vote of 216 to 212, and to use Smith's term, "packed" the Rules group to give the leadership a majority of one. That got the legislative machinery rolling and before it had quit for the year it had ground out a minimum wage boost, higher social security payments, extended pay for the jobless, a multi-billion-dollar housing bill and much of the other social and economic legislation on which the Democratic campaign of 1960 had been run.

RAYBURN was born near Kingston, Tenn., January 6, 1882. His father had been a Confederate soldier. When SAM was 5 the family moved to Texas and settled near Bonham. He grew up in the usual country pattern, and in later years liked to marvel at what roads, cars, electricity and the telephone had done to relieve the loneliness of rural living. Came college age and there was no money for college. SAM said he would make his own way. Except for his dad's parting gift of $25, that's what he did.

He got a B.S. degree, a teacher's certificate, and in 1906 at age 24 ran for the State legislature and made it. While at Austin he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1908. At 29 he became the youngest speaker of the Texas House. In 1912 he was elected to Congress.

John N. Garner, then a House Member and later Vice President, showed him the ropes, and RAYBURN moved along fast. In 1931 he became chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee. Two years later he steered through the House such New Deal legislation as to the holding company death sentence, regulation of securities and the stock market.

WORKED HARD

But he always claimed as his proudest accomplishments passage of the Rural Electrification Act and inclusion of farm-to-market roads in Federal highway aid, both of which he said benefited the real people—the formerly isolated farmers.

His sure-footed performance, and his growing popularity led to his selection as party leader in the House, and then as Speaker in 1940.

RAYBURN worked hard and long during sessions of Congress. Along about 5:30 or 6 p.m., when the business was done, he liked to relax in a hideaway just below the House Chamber which others called the board of education but which Mr. SAM referred to simply as "downstairs." There his intimates, mostly Texans, and an occasional newspaperman were privileged to drop in for a chat and maybe a drink. It was there that Vice President Truman was visiting on the afternoon of April 12, 1945, when the momentous call came that meant Truman was President.

Between sessions, while other lawmakers toured the world, RAYBURN wasted no time returning to Bonham. He left the country but once, early in his career in the House, when he joined a group inspecting the Panama Canal. At home RAYBURN liked to ride over his farm, inspecting the corn and the cotton, then to sit rocking on the porch of his big colonial farmhouse, receiving a steady stream of constituents, come to pay their respects. He had a ranch nearby where he raised Herefords.

RAYBURN was Speaker so long, and stood up so well under the job, that as the birthdays rolled by Members got to thinking that Mr. SAM was one of those institutions that continue forever. Few House Members had been around long enough to remember his predecessor. Many could not even remember the 4 Republican years that marked RAYBURN's only breaks in the chair.

At noon on June 12, 1961, RAYBURN had served as Speaker 16 years and 237 days, twice as long as Henry Clay, his nearest competitor. He was 79, said he had never been sick in his life, that he weighed the same 176 pounds he had weighed for 40 years, and that he figured to be around for quite a spell yet.

The tributes that were laid on the Speaker that day, by Members on both sides of the aisle, were such that the standard flowery, fulsome, melodious eulogies common in exchange between Members on ceremonial occasions were reduced by comparison to mere awkward backhanded compliments. Members at last ran out of superlatives. RAYBURN, who had sat through it all glum and silent, took back his gavel, quieted the ovation, and said that if the things his friends had said about him were true, his life had indeed been a rich one.

"I am satisfied," he told the hushed House. "My political career has climaxed everything I ever hoped or trusted it might be. So that when I leave here I will leave without any regrets."

[From the Houston Post, Nov. 17, 1961]

GOLD MEDAL FOR MR. SAM?—YARBOROUGH RENEWS PLAN TO HONOR HOUSE MEMBER

(By Felton West)

WASHINGTON.—Senator Ralph Yarborough, Democrat, of Texas, took the initiative Thursday in planning to pay tangible tribute to Texas' beloved Speaker SAM RAYBURN.

Yarborough announced soon after hearing of the Speaker's death that he will renew his effort to have a gold medal coined in honor of Speaker RAYBURN—an honor the man known as Mr. Democrat would not stand for while alive.

Yarborough said he will attempt to make his resolution providing for coinage of the medal "the first order of business" when Congress reconvenes January 10.

Yarborough began trying to honor RAYBURN with a gold medal last September 7.

At that time the Senator introduced in the Senate a joint resolution to provide for coinage of a single gold medal including the words "for services rendered to the people of the United States," to be presented to RAYBURN. The resolution would have provided $2,500 for the purpose, and it would have directed the Secretary of the Treasury to cause bronze duplicates to be cast for sale.

RAYBURN had gone home to Bonham on August 31.

Yarborough urged speed in paying tribute, saying RAYBURN knew nothing about the effort to honor him, and it should be done before he could return.

Fifty other Senators quickly signed Yarborough's resolution as cosponsors.

Then, 1 day after Yarborough introduced the resolution, Speaker RAYBURN put his foot down on it without even returning.

In a telegram, he told Yarborough he appreciated the friendly generosity but the medal would embarrass him, and he asked Yarborough to lay off.

RAYBURN, Yarborough said, felt such a tribute should not be given to the living.

Yarborough reluctantly had a hearing on his resolution called off and had his resolution entered in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Thursday, when RAYBURN could earn no more honors, Yarborough said:

"Of all the officials of our Government of our generation who are deserving of a gold medal, SAM RAYBURN has earned it most of all."

[From the Houston Post, Nov. 17, 1961]

SAM RAYBURN, STATESMAN, LEFT ENDURING IMPRINT ON AMERICA

Few men are called statesmen while they live, but one such man was SAM RAYBURN, who served the Nation as Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives more than twice as long as any other who ever held the office. The wisdom which is the mark of a statesman was RAYBURN's in abundance.

Speaker RAYBURN's more than 48 years in Congress spanned an era of revolutionary changes in American social and economic life and saw the emergence of this country as the leader of the free world. He played a major role in these historic events. He was, in fact, the sponsor of much of the legislation which brought them about.

During his many years as Speaker, SAM RAYBURN held power second only to that of the President. He was in the tradition of the "iron" Speakers. He was the boss. But he was always scrupulously fair.

His frequently repeated advice to new Members was: "Be reasonable. Be fair." He followed his own advice to the letter. He was a master at giving a little and taking a little. He called it "applied Christianity."

His was the American story, success achieved by ability and hard work. He was born on a farm in Roane County, Tenn., in 1882. He was christened SAMUEL TALIAFERRO RAYBURN, but, like another Tennessean who became one of Texas' great sons, he shortened his first name to SAM and dropped the second one. In Who's Who and the Congressional Directory he listed himself simply as SAM RAYBURN.

The Rayburn family moved to a farm near Bonham when young SAM was 5. The father, a Confederate veteran, the mother, and the 11 children worked together in the cottonfields, barely making a living.

SAM RAYBURN worked his way through East Texas Normal College at Commerce and then taught school for several years to pay his debts. At 24 years of age he ran for the Texas Legislature and was elected. While in the legislature he studied law at the University of Texas and was admitted to the bar. During his third term he became the youngest speaker of the house in Texas history up to that time.

In 1912, he was elected to Congress. He was sworn in the day that Woodrow Wilson became President. He was never defeated for reelection. He became Speaker September 16, 1940. At the time of his death he had served longer in the House than any other man.

RAYBURN's genius as a presiding officer, both in Congress and as permanent chairman of three Democratic National Conventions, long will be remembered, but his most enduring monument will be the legislation he sponsored and worked for as chairman of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and as majority leader.

The Truth in Securities Act, the Railroad Holding Company Act, the Public Utility Holding Company Act, the Rural Electrification

Act, and the bills creating the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Federal Communications Commission were largely RAYBURN's work. Most of them evoked great storms of controversy, but RAYBURN was convinced of the need for them and time has proved him to be right.

As an orator, he shunned the bombastic and the flowery idiom which once were characteristic of public speakers. He spoke simply, softly, and his sincerity was evident to all who listened. At the times when he took the floor of the House to speak for or against a proposal, the cloakrooms emptied as the Members hastened in to hear him. On many issues on which the House was closely divided, a talk by RAYBURN tipped the balance.

He believed in and lived by the simple virtues. He had passionate zeal for the truth. He carried himself with dignity. He was loved by all who knew him well.

Mr. SAM, who seemed as indestructible as the Washington Monument, is going to be missed on Capitol Hill.

[From the Houston Post, Oct. 16, 1961]

MARTIN SAYS RAYBURN IS "SENTIMENTAL," CREDITS HIM FOR "SO MANY THINGS"

(By J. F. terHorst)

WASHINGTON.—In this town, SAM RAYBURN is frequently called the only national monument that speaks. It's an irreverent truth, but also a testimonial to the man who has been in Congress 48 years, has served under 8 Presidents and has been Speaker of the House twice as long as anyone else.

They don't make greater Democrats than RAYBURN—yet it was to a favorite Republican that the cancer-stricken Speaker entrusted a secret before he left Washington.

"He called me to his office to have our picture taken as the only two living Speakers," said veteran Republican Joseph Martin, of Massachusetts. "He told me he was going home to Texas to rest his back. It was the day before the House was notified.

"SAM didn't have to tell me, but that's the kind of man SAM is."

Such is the friendship that exists between 79-year-old RAYBURN, the country's Mr. Democrat, and 77-year-old Martin, the man they used to call Mr. Republican.

And it's one reason why Democrats, Republicans, the President, and the policeman outside RAYBURN's office door are taking so hard the same news from Texas.

In choked words over the telephone from his newspaper in North Attleboro, Mass., Martin reflected his abiding affection for RAYBURN.

"Everybody thinks of SAM as a grumpy man to get along with," said Martin. "You know, he is really very sentimental underneath that old Texas hide. He did so many things for me."

It's not usual to hear anyone talk of RAYBURN as "SAM." He is Mr. Speaker to the Members of the House. A few Democratic leaders call him Mr. SAM to his face. Almost everybody does it out of RAYBURN's presence. But between Mr. Democrat and Mr. Republican, it is simply "SAM" and "Joe."

Between them they ran the House of Representatives for almost 20 years, playing a game of musical chairs with the speakership, third most powerful office in the land. Between them, they chaired their parties' national conventions every 4 years.

RAYBURN has been Speaker 17 years. Martin was Republican minority leader for most of that time, except for 4 years when he was Speaker. They got along famously.

In fact, it was Martin's relationship with RAYBURN as well as his own ill health and age that caused House Republicans to dump him as floor leader in 1959 in favor of Representative Charles Halleck, of Indiana.

"There were some who resented my long and close friendship with Speaker SAM RAYBURN," Martin said in his book "My First 50 Years in Politics."

"My young Republican associates forgot that my friendship with RAYBURN enabled me to obtain for our side a good deal more patronage, such as jobs around the Capitol, than we, as the minority, ever would have got otherwise."

Martin has a dozen ready illustrations of RAYBURN's fair play in the political arena of the House—where the fighting can get as rough as a battle between Roman gladiators.

"Take 1953—Ike's first year," said Martin. "We Republicans were able to pass 73 percent of what the President wanted. But whenever SAM backed the bills, they were easier to pass.

"He never compromised his principles, either. Both of us knew that neither party has a monopoly on good ideas."

Martin credits his demotion to the rear ranks with a remarkable improvement in health. In his private meeting with RAYBURN, Martin urged the Speaker to stay in Texas until the next session of Congress and "get a good rest."

"Of course, I didn't know that he was dying of cancer," Martin added. "If SAM isn't coming back, we're really going to miss him. I mean the whole country. The House never had a better Speaker."

But that's the kind of man Mr. SAM is.

SAM RAYBURN

[From the Brown County (Tex.) Gazette, Nov. 23, 1961]

A TRIBUTE TO A FRIEND: "I SHALL MISS HIM"

(By Forrest Kyle)

Last Friday morning about 11 o'clock I left Bangs for Bonham, Tex., to attend funeral services for a great Texas statesman and a warm personal friend. Hon. SAM RAYBURN, who had been Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States for longer than any other man, had given up the struggle against cancer. The news was broadcast over radio and television, bringing sorrow to friends, not only in Texas but throughout the Nation.

Arriving in Bonham around 6 p.m. I found it impossible to find hotel accommodations, so great was the crowd that had traveled from great distances to attend the funeral. First, I went to the Rayburn Library where the body lay in state. There, from among the better than 3 million people which constitutes the population of Texas, 30,000 people passed in review before the bier of the man for whom friends had contributed and built the library as a living memorial to his name.

Unable to get a meal in the town of Bonham, my friend and I traveled 26 miles to Sherman for our supper. We came back just after 8 o'clock and, driving by the library again, we were amazed to see that the line of people passing through the building to view the body had not diminished.

I thought to myself, as I stood there watching this evidence of loyalty of friends and acquaintances, "What endeared this man to so many people?" And the answer came to my mind almost before the question was asked: Loyalty begets loyalty. Mr. SAM's loyalty was never lightly given; it was strong, and sure, and enduring. Other factors, too, contributed to the magnetism of his great popularity, such as honesty, unselfishness, love of people, and the desire to help his fellow man.

Almost every town, village, or hamlet in this great State, regardless of political affiliations, were indebted to Mr. SAM in some way or other for favors rendered by him during his many years as Speaker of the House. Our own community of Bangs was no less indebted than the others; it owes a deep sincere gratitude to him for his efforts on behalf of the water projects here, which enabled the town to have good, pure drinking water piped from Lake Brownwood. Repeated efforts through other channels had failed; four consecutive times the project was turned down. Then Mr. SAM entered the picture, and today Bangs has water. Bangs also owes a debt of thanks to the Speaker for enabling the Bangs School Board to purchase the land and building which is now the Bangs High School. These are just a few of many such acts that made him the friend of Bangs.

But all Texas was his home; and he showed no more partiality to his hometown than to the smallest village in the State. For this all Texas loved him—and all Texas is equally indebted to him.

This generosity was not limited to Texas alone. He loved America, too. This was evidenced in the number of high official dignitaries who came from many miles away to attend his funeral. For although Mr. SAM was a politician, it was not in the sense that many politicians use politics today. He used it, of course, but he did not misuse it. This was the reason that politicians of both parties loved and respected him.

His faith in people was a characteristic that remained with him throughout all the days of his life. Faith, in this day of mistrust, is a gem of great price, and in this respect Mr. SAM was a rich man.

He was honest. That statement said of any man is the highest prize on the shelf of human attainment, more worthy than riches, more desirable than fame. Mr. SAM's honesty was not hidden; it shone forth with a brightness that highlighted his life and drew friends like moths to a flame. And, in spite of the bluntness which honesty often gives, they remained as loyal to him, as he to them. They loved his straightforward, blunt manner, that left no doubt as to where he stood on any question.

Yet he was gentle; no man possessed greater sympathies than Mr. SAM RAYBURN.

I admired and respected him as did everyone else. He was a man whose character I would emulate, and which, should I succeed in a small way in doing, I would feel that I had accomplished a goal toward which all men should strive.

I shall miss him.

[From the Dallas Morning News, Nov. 17, 1961]

STORY OF SAM RAYBURN—MR. DEMOCRAT IN WASHINGTON, JUST AS MR. SAM TO HOMEFOLKS

(By Allen Duckworth)

SAM RAYBURN was both statesman and country squire.

In Washington, he was Mr. Democrat, a fiercely loyal party man, idolized by his friends and feared but respected by the opposition.

He was also plain Mr. SAM when he came home from the marble halls to sit on the front porch of his farm home and talk things over with the folks of Fannin County.

SAM RAYBURN

SAM RAYBURN never forgot his humble start: From a 40-acre farm to a half-century public career that took him as close as a heartbeat to the Presidency.

He was born SAMUEL TALIAFERRO RAYBURN on January 6, 1882, in Roane County, Tenn., the eighth of 11 children.

RAYBURN's father was a Yankee hater. He rode with Lee as a Confederate soldier. Under surrender terms, the southerners were told they could keep their horses, but at Knoxville his horse was taken from him.

The Rayburn family drove to Texas in a wagon when he was 5 years old, settling on a little farm near Bonham. There, RAYBURN recalled, he experienced the "loneliness that breaks men's hearts."

"I'd sit on the fence on Sundays and wish that somebody would ride by on a horse—just to relieve the monotony."

After attending a two-teacher school in the area, RAYBURN decided to seek a college education.

His dad was hard pressed financially, but managed to give young SAM $25 when he boarded the train for Commerce to enroll at East Texas Normal School (now East Texas State College). After that, he was on his own. To pay expenses, SAM rang the school bell and swept the buildings. He taught school for a year to earn enough for another year of college.

RAYBURN's public career started in 1907, when he was elected to the house of representatives of the State legislature. While a legislator, he studied law at the University of Texas and opened a law office in Bonham.

During his third term, RAYBURN was elected speaker of the house. He was only 29 years old and was the youngest man, up to that time, to serve as presiding officer of the house.

RAYBURN ran for Congress and won in 1912. He had some tough reelection fights, but always won. Only death could and did remove him from the House, which he said "has always been my life, and it has been my love."

While he loved the House, he also loved the black lands of his farm near Bonham.

One day in Washington, he was looking out a window at the Mall that leads from the Capitol to the Washington Monument.

"It's beautiful down there in Texas," he said. "Not many hills, but rolling prairie land. And that black land is 40 feet deep. There doesn't seem to be any bottom to it."

RAYBURN often was called a bachelor. Actually, he was married for a brief time to Miss Metze Jones of Valley View in 1927. The marriage was dissolved after a few months.

His legislative career, from Texas House through congressional service, added up to 54 years.

When he opened the session in June of this year, RAYBURN had been Speaker twice as long as any other man in history, 16 years 273 days. Ten years before, he had passed the record set a century before by Henry Clay, who held the speakership for 8 years 136 days.

The Texan had been in the House for 27 years before he was elected in 1940. At that time, he was Democratic majority leader. His career was interrupted during the sessions of 1947–48 and 1953–54 when Republicans were in the majority. During those interims, he was minority leader.

"I'd rather be Speaker than 10 Senators," RAYBURN said when asked why he never ran for the Senate. "I love the House."

During World War II, RAYBURN kept a tight rein on the House and supported all the Roosevelt administration measures. Four months before Pearl Harbor, a fast gavel saved the Selective Service Act and prevented depletion of Armed Forces.

RAYBURN was first in line to succeed to the Presidency after Roosevelt died. Vice President Harry Truman became President. There being no Vice President, the Speaker would have become President if Truman had vacated the office.

RAYBURN also might have become President if there had not been troubles in his delegation from Texas at the 1944 Democratic Convention. He might well have become the nominee for Vice President instead of Harry Truman and would have become President upon Roosevelt's death.

It is said that RAYBURN liked many Republicans personally but never could understand their being Republicans.

Of Eisenhower, he said: "Now, personally I like President Eisenhower. He was born in the district I represent. And everybody down there that remembers him says he was a good baby. Then he moved to Kansas. And after he was 60 years of age, he decided he'd be a Republican."

RAYBURN presided at three national conventions of his party—1948, 1952, 1956. He ran the conventions as he ran the House; no monkey business.

"You can't lose control of a national convention for a moment," he recalled. "If you do, you're sunk."

He declined the gavel at last year's convention to help Lyndon B. Johnson's bid for presidential nomination. After Johnson lost to John F. Kennedy, RAYBURN was in on the hurried conferences that led to Johnson's accepting the vice-presidential nomination.

RAYBURN always told Members of Congress that his office was always open to them. But he had a semisecret hideaway in the Capitol basement where only intimates were allowed. There RAY-

BURN and his friends would "strike a blow for liberty," which meant having a drink.

Truman and RAYBURN were together when they received the news of President Roosevelt's death at Warm Springs, Ga.

RAYBURN was never a backslapper, never a joiner. He belonged to none of the fraternal societies.

Five years ago, with no advance publicity, RAYBURN went to Tioga and was baptized in the Primitive Baptist Church there at the age of 74. It was his first formal affiliation with any church, although he previously had listed the Baptist denomination as his preference.

RAYBURN served for more than a quarter of the House's existence.

He served with eight Presidents, four Democrats and four Republicans—Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy. He insisted on saying he served with Presidents and not under them.

It is estimated that he had seen 3,000 Members of Congress come and go.

RAYBURN left his own monument when he died—the $492,000 Sam Rayburn Memorial Library at Bonham.

[From the Dallas Morning News, Nov. 17, 1961]

BONHAM: FRIENDS, NEIGHBORS END LENGTHY VIGIL

(By Eddie Hughes)

BONHAM, TEX.—The newspaper tossed out by the paperboy Thursday afternoon was left untouched at the big white house with the pillars.

The big black headlines told why:

"Mr. SAM Is Gone."

Mr. SAM was the principal product of Bonham. These people had seen him grow to greatness in national and world prominence.

When SAM RAYBURN, 79, died in his sleep here at 6:20 a.m. Thursday, a sad sentiment was voiced by the friends and neighbors of the famed House Speaker.

Bonham Mayor Jess C. Magouirk had known Mr. SAM personally for 55 years.

"It's like losing the courthouse," he said.

Like many others, Mayor Magouirk felt anything he might try to say wouldn't nearly express how he felt about RAYBURN's death.

"I feel I am a member of the family. It is a tremendous loss. But the Nation's loss is greater."

Ray Peller, Jr., 32, local lawyer and a stanch Democrat, said even the town's Republicans "always voted for Mr. RAYBURN, personally."

He felt Bonham "is going to miss SAM RAYBURN, and not the Speaker of the House.

His death, Peller said, came not unexpectedly. "We knew he was going to die; yet, it did little to soften the blow when we learned he did.

"He loved people, and people loved him."

First National Bank President Dick Saunders recalled RAYBURN would come to town to go to the barbershop. He would visit with people, joke with the man on the corner, give advice to the youngsters.

"We all revered him," Saunders said. "I voted for him for Congress all 25 times. I didn't always agree with him, though. But it is quite a loss to our little town."

Joe Kincaid, a postman, hadn't seen Mr. RAYBURN since Easter when the House Speaker came home for the holidays.

"I went fishing with him some," he said. "As a fisherman, I'd say he was pretty good. As a man, he was as good as they come."

RAYBURN'S attorney, Robert (Buster) Cole, felt "it is not often that ordinary people have an opportunity to be associated with a figure of history, and to know a man intimately."

"I always thought his was the securest hand that led the Nation," he said of his own feeling.

Aubrey McAlister, publisher of the Bonham Daily Favorite, said of RAYBURN:

"We've always leaned on him for everything. But we have never worked with another man who was more considerate and less demanding for a man in his position.

"We're going to miss him. This is probably felt more keenly here in Bonham, his home since he was a boy, than anywhere else in the world."

Schools are going to be let out early here Friday. Stores will close up entirely Saturday. And Bonham prepares to pay its last respects to its greatest native son.

[From the Dallas Morning News, Nov. 18, 1961]

LONELY GRAVEDIGGER TELLS HOW MR. SAM HELPED HIM

BONHAM, TEX.—H. W. Stevenson was the loneliest man in Bonham as he lifted a spadeful of waxy black earth from the grassy hillside where Speaker RAYBURN will be laid to rest in Willow Wild Cemetery.

Mist clouded his eyes and he turned his head downward as he grubbed with the shovel and talked with effort.

"Right here," he said, emphasizing his words with a lunge of the shovel, "besides Miss Lu (RAYBURN's sister, Lucinda) is where Mr. SAM wanted to be when it had to be. I done the honors for Miss Lu, and this is my last chance ever to do anything for Mr. RAYBURN.

"Did he do me any favors? Lots of 'em. I guess the best thing he did was—what I liked the most—was just being recognized by the man when he'd see me.

"And when I used to drive a truck on the Red River project and they owed me $600, he saw to it I got it. A poor man don't forget a thing like that."

Then the lonely digger strengthened his overall gallus and resumed his work.

[From the Dallas Morning News, Nov. 17, 1961]

KIND WORDS: EIGHT PRESIDENTS EARNED MR. SAM'S ADMIRATION

SAM RAYBURN served in Washington with eight Presidents, and he had kind words for each of them.

Warmest praise, naturally, was for the four Democratic Presidents.

RAYBURN's comments:

Woodrow Wilson: "I've always thought that President Wilson was one of the greatest intellects that ever sat in the White House. He was a great statesman."

Warren G. Harding: "I never thought Mr. Harding was a dishonest man. He was too trusting, and some people that weren't exactly right imposed upon him."

Calvin Coolidge: "I rather liked him. I think Coolidge said one of the smartest things that was ever said: 'I found out early in life you don't have to explain something you hadn't said.'"

Herbert Hoover: "I always thought that Mr. Hoover was a very efficient man. I like him. I think he's a grand man. But I always thought Mr. Hoover was a better man to be on the team than to be a captain."

Franklin D. Roosevelt: "His inaugural address, 1933, was one of the most inspiring things that I think the American people ever had. He had a program and he had the courage to stand by it and give a good reason for it. He had an appeal to the American people that very few men in the history of this country have had."

Harry Truman: "He made some of the biggest decisions that any man made who was ever President. I think history is going to be kind to Mr. Truman. I think it is going to put him way up among our great Presidents."

Dwight D. Eisenhower: "He was a great general * * * is a great patriot. I think he wanted to serve his day and generation well. I think history will be just to him."

John F. Kennedy: "I think he is going to make a good President and really be a man of destiny."

[From the Dallas Morning News, Nov. 17, 1961]

DRAFT ISSUE: MR. SAM'S FAST GAVEL SAVED BILL

Just 4 months before the United States was plunged into World War II, Speaker SAM RAYBURN used a fast gavel to guarantee the Nation at least a token armed force.

The strength of the Army was 1,400,000. The issue was extension of the Selective Service Act—the draft. Defeat would have released a million trained men from the Army.

Some say that Speaker RAYBURN, singlehandedly, saved the Nation's Army.

The draft had been in effect for a year and the administration sought to extend it. There was terrific pressure from back home on Congressmen: "Let Europe fight its war; send Johnny back home."

Shortly before rollcall, Speaker RAYBURN did what he did rarely: he stepped down and made a speech in favor of draft extension.

The bill squeezed through by a single vote, 203 to 202.

Before any Member could announce a change of vote, RAYBURN banged the gravel and announced the result. A few seconds of delay could have been fatal to the bill. And fatal to America.

[From the Dallas Morning News, Nov. 18, 1961]

RAYBURN: BONHAM FOLK PAY THEIR RESPECTS

BONHAM, TEX.—The old man had obviously shined his weatherworn shoes, but he tugged at his tattered farm clothes in front of the Rayburn Memorial Library.

Lawrence Whitt, 73, had just taken a last look at the man he had known most all of his life—SAM RAYBURN.

"If you went out to his house with clothes like this, you'd be just as welcome as the President of the United States," Whitt declared.

The retired farmer and ginner shook his head and his eyes became moist once again.

"He was once so strong * * * so very strong."

Whitt, after a few moments of reflection, smiled and recalled seeing SAM RAYBURN working on his (RAYBURN'S) ranch not over a year ago.

"He was out working with his hired hands * * * caring not that the sun was breaking sweat down the back of his neck.

"Ninety percent of his cattle he raised himself, you know," Whitt added.

Like Whitt, there were many farmers who came into town Friday to take a last look at the man who had many times greeted them in the fields as he passed by their farms.

Women came with children in their swaddling clothes; other children came, barely able to peer over the side of the casket.

School classes were let out early and students filed past the flower-decked casket in the majestically marble foyer of Mr. SAM'S library. Even husky boys that wore football jackets could not hold back the tears.

The entire student bodies of three rural schools near Bonham paid their respects. Almost every head was still bowed when they reappeared outside again.

At noon, some of Speaker SAM'S relatives, including his sister-in-law, Mrs. Dick Rayburn, and nieces and great-nieces, spent a few minutes inside—alone.

When they left, their faces reflected a similar feeling of sadness that marked the thousands of other mourners.

Mr. RAYBURN'S body will be in state until 9 a.m. Saturday.

Thousands more visitors are expected Saturday morning before funeral services at the First Baptist Church here at 1:30 p.m.

Those attending funeral services are expected to include many from Washington. Perrin Air Force Base in nearby Sherman has already set up 400 beds to take care of the incoming Congressmen.

It was not known whether President Kennedy and Vice President Johnson would be able to visit the Rayburn Library before it closes Saturday.

"I'm sure that these doors will open for them—closed or not," remarked one oldtimer.

[From the Dallas Morning News, Nov. 17, 1961]

RAYBURN'S COUNTRY: BELOVED SOIL TO BE RESTING PLACE

(By Larry Grove)

BONHAM, TEX.—Speaker SAM RAYBURN will be laid to rest Saturday on a rolling hillside where the song of birds comes at sundown from high old elms and cattle grace a meadow below.

He never would have thought of any other place than beside members of his family in Willow Wild Cemetery. Not even the full honors of Arlington National Cemetery could have rivaled this place for Mr. RAYBURN.

"He was a good man—never lost the common touch—never forgot where he came from—that's what made him great." Those were often repeated words in Bonham Thursday from shopkeepers, policemen, widows, farmers, everyone.

By the hundreds they drove by the stately white columned house, their hearts with the grieving relatives inside. But the visitors only stood under the elms outside, chilled by afternoon winds. They showed their sense of sorrow and departed.

Miss Alla Clary, associated with the Speaker during 42 of his 48 years in Washington, embraced RAYBURN's only living brother, Dick Rayburn, of Ector, as he arrived to join the family inside.

Miss Clary said Elder H. G. Ball, of Tioga Primitive Baptist Church, who will conduct the funeral service, baptized the Speaker not so many years ago.

RAYBURN said at the time: "It was the faith of my father, and I've always believed in it."

The First Baptist Church, which will be the scene of what will be one of the largest funerals for a national figure since President Franklin D. Roosevelt's, is a modernistic spired pink brick building that occupies an entire block just north of Bonham's business district. Even so, its 1,200 seats won't come near to holding the expected funeral crowd, to be headed by President John F. Kennedy.

The church is, along with RAYBURN's treasured memorial library, the most impressive building in Bonham. Bonham's houses are of substantial but modest frame, on streets shaded by leaf-shedding trees that hold a riot of autumn color.

[From the Dallas Morning News, Nov. 17, 1961]

TEXANS IN WASHINGTON FEEL LOSS AS PERSONAL

WASHINGTON.—Texans in Washington felt a deep personal loss Thursday in the death of Speaker SAM RAYBURN.

Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson was on his way to a speaking engagement in the Middle West when he heard the news and immediately left for Texas.

"The Capitol is a very lonely place without him. The good people of the world have lost a companion and an ally," the Vice President said in a statement.

"He was always there when needed. His voice and his judgment were heard and respected. In the end it all added up to one thing: He did what was right."

Secretary of the Navy John B. Connally, who like Johnson visited RAYBURN twice during his losing battle with cancer, said the Speaker would stand alongside the "revered statesmen in our history."

"His passing is an immeasurable personal loss. I will deeply miss his wise counsel and will cherish the memory of the many times we shared together over the years," Connally said.

Supreme Court Justice Tom C. Clark, of Dallas, said RAYBURN was a true patriot—"teaching us that though one may be partisan in politics, he must, as did he, place devotion to country first."

"In the passing of Speaker RAYBURN, Mary (Mrs. Clark) and I have lost one of our dearest friends," Justice Clark said.

From Texas Congressmen in Washington came these tributes:

Joe Kilgore, of McAllen: "The whole world mourns the loss of a great leader. We will all miss him greatly."

Bob Casey, of Houston: "I have lost a close personal friend. I know the country and the State of Texas feel the same way. We've not lost just a man, but a great institution."

Frank Ikard, of Wichita Falls: "I think Speaker RAYBURN was one of the truly great men of this generation. He has been a balance wheel, a great reservoir of commonsense. His passing leaves a great vacuum."

Gov. Bill Daniel, of Guam, in Washington for a territorial Governors' meeting when word of RAYBURN's death arrived, said the loss was serious to the United States and the entire free world.

Daniel said when he left Guam he asked that the Texas flag be flown at half-staff on the Governor's grounds when RAYBURN died.

Assistant Secretary of Labor Jerry Holleman, of Austin, said RAYBURN's greatness rose above party label.

"The United States and the free world will miss his leadership," Holleman said. "His passing leaves a place in our hearts that will never be filled."

Assistant Attorney General Ramsey Clark, of Dallas, said the strength of the free world would feel RAYBURN's absence.

"He's one of the great men America has produced, in my opinion," Clark said.

[From the Baylor Lariat, Nov. 17, 1961]

DEATH UNSEATS TEXAS' MR. SAM

The flag in front of Baylor's Pat Neff Hall was at half-staff Thursday for the Grim Reaper had unseated the Speaker of our Nation's House of Representatives.

Regardless of their politics, Texans can be grateful for the life of SAM RAYBURN.

The 79-year-old native of Bonham, Tex., served in Congress for over 40 years.

He served as Speaker of the House for 17 years, more than twice the tenure of any other House leader.

While in Washington RAYBURN came to be called Mr. Democrat because of his strong and powerful leadership in Democratic Party politics.

He was an iron-willed partisan but was known and thought by members of both parties to be a fair man.

SAM RAYBURN is dead.

But from the Permian basin of west Texas to the gulf coast, from the deep east pine country to the Mexican border there can be found monuments to his efforts.

The epitaphs on the monuments might read: Government funds for Federal highways, dam and reservoir projects, conservation study, water-basin projects, flood study, disaster relief, salt-water conversion, Federal buildings, and military installations.

RAYBURN was instrumental in the passage of legislation that yielded these benefits to Texas.

Vice President Lyndon Johnson, himself a veteran of 24 years in Congress, said of RAYBURN, "He was the greatest friend I ever had."

Texans may well say the same.

[From the Houston Post, Nov. 17, 1961]

SPEAKER MOURNED: "COUNTRY HAS LOST DEVOTED SERVANT"

Leading Americans in Texas and across the Nation mourned the death of House Speaker SAM RAYBURN Thursday and commented on the many contributions he made to his country.

The White House issued this statement by President Kennedy after the President departed from the Capital by plane for Seattle:

"Mrs. Kennedy and I join the Nation in mourning the death of Speaker RAYBURN. His public service stretched from the administration of Woodrow Wilson to the present day. But it was the quality of that service more than its length that was so distinctive.

"A strong defender of constitutional responsibilities of the Congress, he had an instinctive understanding of the American system and was a loyal counselor and friend of Presidents of both parties on the great matters which affected our national interest and security.

"I had singular opportunity as a young Congressman, and now more recently as President, to appreciate his temperament and his character; both were bedded in rock and remained unchanged by circumstance.

"This country has lost a devoted servant and the citizens of this country, an unflinching friend."

Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, who learned of Rayburn's death while on his way to the National Airport in the Capital to catch a plane for Seattle, where he planned to attend a dinner for Senator Warren G. Magnuson, Democrat, of Washington, issued this statement:

"The Capitol is a lonely place without him and the good people of the world have lost a companion and an ally. He was always there when he was needed. His voice and his judgment were heard and respected. In the end it all added up to one thing: He did what was right."

Johnson quickly arranged to go to Bonham and left by airplane from Andrews Air Force Base to fly to Perrin Air Force Base, near Sherman. The plane left Washington about noon.

Ralph Yarborough, Texas' senior U.S. Senator, was flying from Austin to Seattle, to attend the dinner honoring Magnuson when he heard of Speaker Rayburn's death. He left the plane at Dallas and with Barefoot Sanders, U.S. attorney for the northern district of Texas, proceeded to Bonham.

Yarborough said:

"Sam Rayburn will live in the hearts of them all. As such he will stand in histories of the 20th century world he helped so much to shape.

"More extensively than any man of his time, Sam Rayburn wrote his record with legislation that made the world we know today. The cause of democracy has lost a great and valiant leader. Texas has lost one of its good men and true.

"Sam Rayburn will live in the hearts of all who knew him and will be remembered so long as our democracy lives.

Yarborough said he will ask that the first order of business when Congress reconvenes in January be a resolution to strike a gold medal in honor of Rayburn.

Rayburn declined the resolution when it was introduced by Yarborough and coauthored by 50 other Senators in the last session.

Former Gov. W. P. Hobby, chairman of the board of the Houston Post:

"Sam Rayburn's greatness of mind and spirit were evident to all who knew him. Probably only a few persons fully realize the vast scope of his contributions toward making the United States the foremost Nation of the world.

"In these perilous times, his wisdom and his leadership will be sorely missed."

Oveta Culp Hobby, president and editor of the Houston Post and former Secretary of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare:

"To know SAM RAYBURN was a privilege forever to be cherished. His counsel was always wise and his devotion to the cause of truth was inspiring.

"The Nation which he served so long and so ably has suffered great loss, for he was indeed a leader without peer."

Representative Albert Thomas, of Houston, on an inspection trip on the west coast for the House Appropriations Committee, released this statement through his office in Washington:

"He was a great American, and the entire country owes him a great debt. He was a middle of the roader in every respect. His contributions to the growth and history of this country will long be remembered."

Representative Bob Casey, of Houston, said:

"History has claimed SAM RAYBURN, and this great American now belongs to the ages.

"Texas and our Nation have suffered a great loss, and I can see no one on the horizon to fill the void left by the passing from the scene of one of the world's great lawmakers and statesmen.

"While we did not always agree on matters of legislation, I know that he spent every ounce of his strength and his courage for what he believed to be the best interests of his district, his State, and his country.

"I mourn his death as a friend and shall cherish forever the few warm moments of comradeship we had together. As a Member of the House of Representatives, I shall always regret that death had stilled forever the gavel of the greatest Speaker this Nation will ever know."

Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower termed the death of RAYBURN a grievous loss to every citizen.

Mr. Eisenhower, vacationing at the Augusta National Golf Club, issued the following statement:

"Speaker RAYBURN's legislative leadership was unmatched. It will long inspire all who seek important positions in public service. On international affairs he was a tower of strength for four Presidents. An outspoken partisan, I found him also equally bipartisan in all matters affecting the security of our country.

"To know Mr. SAM was to admire and like him. Throughout my presidential years we met frequently, privately, and publicly. Because I was born in his congressional district, he often referred to me as his 'vicarious constituent.' I took pride in calling him my 'first Congressman.' "

"As his friend of many years I mourn his passing. It is a grievous loss to every citizen of the United States."

Former Vice President Richard M. Nixon said, "SAM RAYBURN was one of the most effective political leaders the Nation has produced. While he always fought hard for his party, on issues involving national security he was always an American first and a Democrat second. Mrs. Nixon and I have sent a personal message to Mr. RAYBURN's sisters, expressing our deepest sympathy."

Former Vice President John Nance Garner said, "One of the greatest men in the Nation has died" when informed at Uvalde of the death of Speaker RAYBURN.

In a statement issued from his home later in the morning, the 92-year-old Garner, who also served as Speaker of the House said:

"He was one of the finest men in the United States and one of the best presiding officers the House of Representatives ever had. I was proud to claim his friendship."

Former President Herbert Hoover said in New York that RAYBURN was one of America's great leaders, who "commanded both affection and respect, irrespective of political affiliation."

"Our country is better for his life among us," Hoover said.

Harry S. Truman, who made a special trip to Texas to visit his old friend RAYBURN a few weeks ago, was at home in Independence, Mo.

"I'm just as sorry as I can be to hear of SAM's passing," Mr. Truman said. "He was one of the great men of our time, one of our greatest statesmen."

Associate Justice Tom C. Clark, of the U.S. Supreme Court, a Texan, said:

"In the passing of Speaker RAYBURN, Mary (Mrs. Clark) and I have lost one of our dearest friends. He was a true patriot—teaching us that though one may be partisan in politics he must, as did he, place devotion to country first. Along with his family, we mourn his passing and shall sorely miss him."

Secretary of the Navy John B. Connally, a Texan and longtime friend and hunting companion of RAYBURN's, said:

"Our Nation has lost one of its greatest leaders. Speaker RAYBURN was of the breed that made the United States strong, and he will take his place alongside the revered statesmen of history. His passing is an immeasurable personal loss. I will deeply miss his wise counsel and will cherish the memory of each of the many times we shared together over the years."

U.S. District Judge Allen B. Hannay, of Houston: "I was in the gallery when RAYBURN was sworn in as speaker of the Texas House of Representatives. His election to Congress occurred the following year.

"I was a very close friend and a tremendous admirer of his. I thought his patriotism, his courage, and his intelligence a tremendous asset to the American people. I think his loss is irreplaceable."

Houston Mayor Lewis Cutrer: "We mourn this great loss with the rest of the Nation and the world. This is a great loss not only to the Nation but to Texas.

"He was undoubtedly one of the greatest statesmen the State ever sent to serve its country in Congress. SAM RAYBURN was a great humanitarian and through his outstanding leadership was able to become a champion of the rights of the people of all of the free world.

"He made one of the greatest contributions to his fellow men through his outstanding public service."

W. L. Clayton, of Houston, chairman of the board of Anderson Clayton & Co.: "I knew him intimately and considered him one of my really great friends. His passing fills me with real grief.

"I saw him about a year ago and he looked wonderful. I told him I was so glad. He said, 'Well, I've never been sick a day in my life. I've never even had a headache.'

"Then, 6 months later, he looked very bad. It's a loss to the world."

Herman Brown, president of Brown & Root, Inc.: "SAM RAYBURN was an old personal friend but thousands of people who knew him will feel his loss just as keenly.

"He was a great steadying influence in Washington and had been a wise counselor to literally hundreds of Members of Congress during his long service. His strength lay in his uncanny ability to understand human beings."

George R. Brown, executive vice president of Brown & Root: "Mr. RAYBURN was a dedicated public servant not only to his State but to his party and his Nation. He had helped make the Texas delegation a responsible one and the envy of most of the other States."

Woodrow Seals, of Houston, U.S. district attorney for this section of the State: "Although history teaches us that no one is indispensable, I do feel that in my lifetime I will not see his like again."

Dr. Kenneth S. Pitzer, president of Rice University: "He was certainly one of the great figures of American Government in the past many years and his loss will be felt keenly by many Americans."

Dr. Philip G. Hoffman, president of the University of Houston: "In the death of Mr. RAYBURN we have suffered the loss of one of the great public figures of our national history.

"We must find our consolation in the knowledge that he leaves a wealth of contributions to his State and Nation and a splendid example for those who aspire to become the public figures of tomorrow."

John T. Jones, Jr., president of the Houston Chronicle: "In the death of Speaker SAM RAYBURN the people of Texas have lost a friend and an able representative. But the loss sustained by the entire citizenship of our Nation is even greater, for SAM RAYBURN was a stalwart in the thinly manned ranks of our dedicated professional politicians.

"In uninformed mouths 'professional politician' may sound like a dirty word, but in actual fact these people who dedicate their lives to the national welfare through the practice of politics are to be applauded and cherished.

"The good ones are few and far between, and we mourn the passing of the foremost of the number."

Dr. Charles L. Allen, pastor of the First Methodist Church in Houston: "I am deeply shocked and sorry. I feel he made a great contribution to the United States. I think he was one of the great statesmen of all times."

Bishop John E. Hines, bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Texas: "I certainly regarded him as a very effective servant of the whole Democratic order.

"He was a loyal party man but his ultimate loyalties transcended the party. He was a dedicated servant of his country. He will certainly be missed."

The Reverend K. Owen White, pastor of the First Baptist Church in Houston: "I've regarded him as an outstanding American and a great leader. I'm sure it's a loss for everybody."

Former Congressman Lloyd Bentsen, of Houston: "He was a dear friend. I believe he had more influence on the legislative course of the Nation in the past 20 years than any other man. Few men become an institution in their time, but SAM RAYBURN did."

Governor Price Daniel: "I am deeply grieved to learn of the death of SAM RAYBURN. In more than half a century of public service Mr. RAYBURN brought great honor and distinction to our State and made lasting contributions to welfare of the Nation and the free world. His strong leadership will be missed greatly not only by our own country but by all the peaceful nations of the world."

J. E. Connally, chairman, State Democratic executive committee: "Mr. Sam was very close to me—in fact, almost like a father—so his death is a great personal loss; and I am deeply saddened.

"Speaker Rayburn was truly the great living American. He now joins the ranks of the greatest of all great Americans.

"The people of this Nation have lost their most distinguished and devoted public servant. No other man has done more for his country.

"We shall, indeed, miss Mr. Sam."

Byron Skelton, Texas Democratic national committeeman: "Sam Rayburn was one of America's great men of all without a peer. He walked and talked with the mighty but never forgot the little man or those needing help or protection. * * * His passing is mourned by every responsible American. The hearts of Texans are filled with sadness and personal tragedy, because in losing Sam Rayburn they have truly lost a part of Texas."

Attorney General Will Wilson said:

"I am greatly saddened by news of the death of House Speaker Sam Rayburn. His passing is a profound loss to Americans everywhere. The legacy he leaves behind is one of great devotion to the Nation he served, to the principles upon which it was founded and to the cause of peace. History will make a place for Mr. Sam among the great statesmen of our time."

Texas Supreme Court Justice Robert W. Calvert, whose first contact with Mr. Sam was in Washington, had this to say:

"All of those who appreciate the true art of government under the American system will mourn the death of Sam Rayburn. As Texas as the soil of Fannin County, he was unyielding in placing the welfare of his country above all local clamor. More than anything else, when he set a course, he was firm. And he didn't let a few people hollering at him deter him from that course. He will be missed."

Texas Commissioner of Agriculture John C. White said:

"This is a deep personal loss to me and my family, a loss that we could never really be prepared to accept. My one thought and hope is that the Rayburn Library might now have as many friends as Mr. Rayburn had and helped and guided during his lifetime. I know that is what he would wish for."

Read Granberry, a page boy in the Texas House of Representatives when Rayburn was speaker of the Texas House and who is now executive director of the Legislative Council, said:

"He didn't have much of a smile but he had an interesting personality. Everybody liked him and had great respect for him."

U.S. District Judge R. Ewing Thomason, El Paso, who served in Congress with RAYBURN from 1930 to 1947 and who was reared in Gainesville, only a short distance from the home of his close friend, termed Mr. SAM "one of the greatest public officials of this generation."

"He was a great American. He had a long and distinguished record in public service. He was a man of high principle or he couldn't have represented the blackland territory in east Texas for so many years. He will have his place in history."

Former Lieutenant Governor and now Railroad Commissioner Ben Ramsey paid tribute in this statement:

"Texas is fortunate to have had the counsel, guidance, and political judgment of SAM RAYBURN for 50 years. His passing is sad but the heritage he left is permanent."

R. B. (Bonna) Ridgeway, a roommate of RAYBURN'S when both were members of the 31st Texas legislative session, said no one questioned Mr. SAM even in those days.

"He was nearer being 100-percent honest than anyone I ever knew. His three most outstanding attributes were honesty, loyalty to his friends, and loyalty to the Democratic Party. SAM RAYBURN'S purpose in service was to do what was best for the people," said the former Texas lawmaker.

Speaker of the Texas House of Representatives James Turman, who represents RAYBURN'S home county, said:

"Texas, the Nation, and the entire free world today suffered a profound loss. Mr. RAYBURN'S contributions to human dignity will live as long as the ideals of democracy.

"Mr. SAM was a beloved friend of the Turman family in Fannin County. As such, I shall never forget the encouragement and personal help he gave me in my political endeavors. More than this, his noble examples of statesmanship, justice, and concern for humanity will remain an inspiration to young men everywhere."

Adlai E. Stevenson, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations: "The Democratic Party has lost one of the most colorful figures of this century and the Nation one of its most useful servants" with the death of Speaker RAYBURN.

"I have lost a beloved friend and ally in many battles," he added.

Representative Omar Burleson, Democrat, of Texas, serving as a U.S. delegate to the United Nations, said:

"Speaker RAYBURN was a man who possessed tremendous power and influence. His power and influence did not entirely emanate from the high position he held as Speaker of the House of Representatives as powerful as that position is, but from a personal leadership based on strength of character and a personal integrity."

Representative Bruce Alger, of Dallas, the only Republican member of the Texas delegation in the House, said:

"I join with the rest of the Nation in expressing sorrow at the passing of SAM RAYBURN. His long and eventful tenure in the House of Representatives is certain to leave its mark on the history of our country. My deepest sympathy goes to his sisters and other members of his family."

Representative Olin Teague, of College Station, who was in Hillsboro for a speech Thursday night, planned to stay in Texas and attend the RAYBURN funeral. He said:

"I think that America and the world have lost one of the greatest humans that ever lived. He was one of the most honest, honorable, and patriotic men I ever expect to know."

Congressman Jim Wright, of Fort Worth, labeled Speaker RAYBURN the greatest man of this century and said his death "leaves a void which no other person can adequately fill."

Wright, a Democrat and longtime friend of the House Speaker, said, "The United States and indeed the entire free world will miss him sorely."

Representative Walter Rogers, of Pampa, said:

"The United States and Texas have lost one of their great children. A man who never lost the common touch, and whose monument will live forever in his deeds and accomplishments for his fellow man. The entire world can be in sorrow at this moment, and I am sure that all who knew SAM RAYBURN will be."

Former House Speaker Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Republican, of Massachusetts, longtime Republican counterpart of Speaker SAM RAYBURN, said when advised of RAYBURN's death:

"Few men have had a greater influence in recent years on our national life than Speaker SAM RAYBURN. He was an outstanding legislator, Speaker longer than any other man in history, and a tower of strength for sound representative government.

"A man of great ability, high integrity and intensely patriotic, his death at this crucial period is a calamity. His uncanny ability to keep the Democrats in Congress working in unison will be sorely missed. His death comes as a blow to President Kennedy and the country in these critical months ahead. Personally, I mourn the loss of an intimate friend and associate of many years."

House Minority Leader Charles A. Halleck, Republican, of Indiana, a Member of Congress since 1935, House majority leader in the

80th and 83d Congresses and minority leader in this Congress and the last one, said:

"I have always counted Speaker SAM RAYBURN as one of my closest friends in the Congress of the United States—as I have been his friend. Ours was a close personal relationship that far transcended party considerations. SAM RAYBURN was one of the great men of our time. He was a patriot of outstanding accomplishment. In these critical times his passing is a great loss to the Congress and the country. His was always a steadying hand in matters of great consequence to the Nation."

National Democratic Chairman John Bailey, who accompanied President Kennedy to the west coast said:

"The career of SAM RAYBURN is more eloquent than words can be in explaining why Democrats are heartsick with grief over the passing of the man all of us affectionately regarded as Mr. Democrat. The career—longest service in the House, longest service as Speaker, three times the chairman of national conventions—demonstrates that SAM RAYBURN was recognized as a man of unusual abilities, integrity, and human understanding."

Senator Mike Mansfield, of Montana, Senate majority leader, who was accompanying President Kennedy on his trip to the West, said of RAYBURN's death:

"I feel that I have lost both a father and brother, but I know the Nation's loss is greater still. He is the last of the old frontiersmen and his place will be difficult to fill."

Representative Bob Wilson, of California, chairman of the Republican congressional committee, said:

"SAM RAYBURN's service will always be a bright page in America's history."

Senator Everett M. Dirksen, of Illinois, Senate minority leader, attending the funeral of a close personal friend in Peoria, Ill., issued this statement through his Washington office:

"Speaker SAM RAYBURN was one of the great statesmen of our generation. He was a man of consummate courage. I remember him even as chairman of House Commerce Committee when he handled legislation which had a durable impact on the economy of the entire country. As a Speaker, he was impeccably fair and his respect for the rights of the minority party was a household word."

[From the Houston Post, Nov. 17, 1961]

MR. SAM WOULD HAVE LIKED THIS YELLOW-ROSE TRIBUTE

WASHINGTON.—Joe Bartlett's yellow rose was the kind of a tribute Speaker SAM RAYBURN would have appreciated.

Bartlett, a reading clerk in the House of Representatives, was on his way to work Thursday when he heard of the Speaker's death.

Thinking back over his 20 years in Washington, Bartlett remembered such things as his first day as a page in the House when he was just 14. He remembered how, on the first day, he had broken a glass and spilled water all over RAYBURN. And he recalled the Speaker's graciousness in handling the situation.

There were other memories too—such as his chatting with RAYBURN and having his picture made with him just before the Speaker left Washington for the last time in August.

In all the time he knew the Speaker, Bartlett said, "there was never an unkind word."

"And I gave Mr. RAYBURN plenty of excuses too," he added.

So Bartlett stopped at a florist's shop on his way to work Thursday and bought a yellow rose—like the song, "The Yellow Rose of Texas." The florist gave him a black ribbon and he tied it around the stem.

In the House Chamber, Bartlett quietly laid the single flower on the Speaker's desk.

[From the Texas Co-op Power, statewide edition, December 1961]

MR. SAM

Mr. SAM is gone.

SAM RAYBURN, Member and Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives longer than any other man in history, slipped away quietly in the early morning of November 16.

But he will long be remembered.

He will be remembered by all as both the shrewdest of politicians and as a great statesman.

He will be remembered by all Texans as one of the greatest men the State has produced.

And the rural electric co-op folks will remember him especially as coauthor of the original Rural Electrification Act and as a stanch friend through all the years since 1936.

His contributions to rural electrification were recognized when he was honored in 1959 by the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association. A picture of him now hangs in the NRECA Building alongside one of Senator George Norris, the other coauthor and leader in getting the rural electrification bill passed.

He was known to millions as Mr. SAM, Mr. Speaker, and even Mr. Democrat.

In the process of earning those titles he had packed a tremendous amount of work into his 79 years of life.

Mr. RAYBURN was the eighth in a family of 11. He was born on a farm in Tennessee, and his family moved to Texas when he was 5. They settled on a 40-acre farm near Bonham.

Young RAYBURN attended a one-room country school at Flag Springs and worked on the farm until he was 18. Then his father gave him $25 and he went to East Texas Normal at Commerce. He worked his way through by sweeping floors for $3 a month, and he completed the 3-year course in 2 years.

After 2 years as a country schoolteacher, young SAM was elected to the Texas House of Representatives. He served three 2-year terms, the last as speaker of the House. He was the youngest speaker of the house in Texas history.

Mr. RAYBURN won a seat in the 63d Congress in 1912 and has been reelected every 2 years since then.

He was first named Speaker of the House in 1940. With the exception of the 80th Congress (1947–49) and the 83d Congress (1953–55), he has held that office ever since.

Mr. SAM served with eight Presidents: Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy.

And in the latter years of his career his colleagues agreed that he wielded power second only to that of the President.

President Kennedy himself led the Nation in paying tribute to Mr. SAM. He issued a statement that the Nation "has lost a devoted servant and the citizens of this country an unflinching friend."

The three living ex-Presidents, Truman, Eisenhower, and Hoover, all joined in the tribute, along with other political leaders from both parties.

And the rural electric lines stand as another permanent tribute to his service to mankind.

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Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, upon learning of the passing of former Speaker SAM RAYBURN, my comment was, "I feel that America and the world have lost one of the greatest humans who ever lived. He was one of the most honest, honorable, and patriotic men I ever expect to know."

This feeling was shared by many as evidenced by the editorials which appeared in newspapers all over the country. I wish to include the editorials which appeared in the Evening Star, the Washington Post, the Dallas Morning News, and the Fort Worth Star-Telegram:

[From the Washington Star]

SPEAKER RAYBURN

SAM RAYBURN, dead now at 79, was truly a product of the old frontier—a man whose admirably rugged qualities were forged and tempered in the harsh school of privation and grinding poverty. In his last days on the legislative scene, however, he was the advocate, perhaps the indispensable advocate, of the New Frontier—of welfare programs which surely never crossed the mind of young SAM RAYBURN as he began his long, hard climb to the top.

The eighth of 11 children, SAM RAYBURN was born on a rocky east Tennessee farm. While still a child, his father, a Confederate veteran seeking a new start, moved westward and settled in Texas on a 40-acre plot. There young SAM toiled in the fields, dreamed his dreams, and came to know a "loneliness that breaks the heart." When it was time for college the young man had $5 in his pocket. His father handed him $25 more, and SAM RAYBURN in later years often wondered how he had managed to scrape it together, what sacrifices it had meant for his father and mother.

This, then was the background of the Texan who came to Congress in 1912, who was first chosen as Speaker in 1940, and who fought with such tenacity and effectiveness for so many programs of the New Deal, the Fair Deal, and finally the New Frontier. Was this advocacy out of character for SAM RAYBURN, who had known no abundance except that which he had managed to wrest from life for himself? In the case of some people, it might have been. But it was not true of Mr. SAM. Even with his personal struggle behind him, he could not forget what life was like, how hard it was for so many people, and he was ever ready to champion the causes which he believed were needed to improve their lot. This is not to say that he was just another marcher in the Democratic ranks. For he often was at odds with Democratic Presidents. He was a party man, however, not a bolter, and when he believed in a program he was relentless in his support of it.

This led, in the last session to his break with an old friend—Howard Smith of Virginia. As chairman of the Rules Committee, Judge Smith was in a position to exercise great control over the New Frontier legislative program, and the Speaker feared that this power would be used to block measures which he thought should be voted upon. Consequently, he joined, even led, the fight to enlarge the committee, and break its power. In the first round, at least, the fight was won, 217 to 212. But deep wounds were left, and it cannot yet be said that Mr. SAM won an enduring victory in this last and regrettable battle before his fatal illness struck him down.

But SAM RAYBURN's political wars are over and done with. He is gone, and there will be no one to replace him in the affection of those who were privileged to know well this unassuming and one might say lonely man. Nor will it be easy to find anyone of comparable stature to take over the speakership. There will be many to feel deeply the loss of SAM RAYBURN, and none more so, we suspect, than the young President who, with his host of other problems, must now await the choice of a replacement for one who certainly comes close to being an irreplaceable man.

[From the Washington Post]

SPEAKER SAM RAYBURN

The greatest tribute that can be paid to Speaker SAM RAYBURN is to be found in the realization all over this land of the large vacuum in the U.S. Government that his passing has created. Mr. SAM, as he was affectionately known in the House of Representatives, never assumed the role of top policymaker for his party or for the country. But he was a key member in many different policymaking teams, and his influence has been felt in Washington for a longer period than has that of any other figure in recent American history.

On the basis of longevity alone Mr. RAYBURN's career commands thoughtful analysis. His 49 years in the House of Representatives spans the vast gulf between the Woodrow Wilson and the John F. Kennedy administrations. His speakership, extending over twice the period any other man has served, covered the war years and most of the turbulent era since. One might reasonably suppose that any one who had so long ridden the tide of power would be either a czar or a worn-out figurehead. SAM RAYBURN was neither when that great enemy of mankind—cancer—forced him to relinquish his gavel two and a half months ago.

What quality in this man enabled him to hold fast to the No. 2 (or perhaps No. 3) role in Washington for so long a period? One factor was his deep understanding of the representative system that has developed in this country. In the Fourth Texas District, which elected him 24 times, he thoroughly identified himself with the interests of the people. In the House he thoroughly identified himself with the interests of his party and those of his country.

Mr. RAYBURN had strong views on many subjects, but he did not permit his personal likes and dislikes to stand in the way of successful party government. His ear was constantly attuned to the grassroots, and he used to say that "if you don't feel what you can't see, you have no business here." With his keen sensitivity to the needs of the occasion, he knew when to compromise and when to stand firm. He knew how to go along with the President, any President, while at the same time using his great power as Speaker of the House to modify extreme demands of the White House and to resist policies which he believed to be dead wrong.

The Speaker could exert great influence without endangering his own position because he usually had his following in the House with him. Over the years he cultivated the confidence and loyalty of Democratic Congressmen by little acts of kindness, by fairness to each and by his good faith in his dealings with them. Mr. SAM was no czar in the sense that Speaker Joseph G. Cannon was. His capacity to mobilize the House behind administration policies lay almost entirely in his personal prestige and in his ability to appeal to reason.

One reason for his special success in commanding loyalty from the unwieldly House was his own intense devotion to his task. Unlike some of his predecessors, he did not live for a day when he could step from the speakership to the Presidency. His great love for the House and respect for its traditions and functions made him an ideal spokesman for that body and an effective bridge between the legislative and executive branches.

Mr. RAYBURN is entitled to a large measure of credit also for bridging the gulf between the northern and southern wings of the Democratic Party. Though a loyal Texan, he never succumbed to the blindness that afflicts the professional sectionalists. Some of his views were very conservative by comparison with those of liberal Democrats, but the net effect of his influence was moderation. It cannot be said of him that he was always right; nevertheless, he had a statesman's toleration for the public will running somewhat at variance to his own.

His great capacity for adaptation of his thinking and leadership to the needs of the times appears to have won for Mr. RAYBURN a secure niche in the history of American Government. Though he could be fierce in a political fight, he was magnanimous in victory, and he never lost sight of the fact that the welfare of the Nation was more important than his own. The country will be fortunate indeed if Speakers of comparable stature can be found in the troublesome years ahead.

[From the Dallas Morning News, Nov. 17, 1961]

SAM RAYBURN

The end came for SAM RAYBURN in the community he loved, in the midst of friends in the district that first sent him to Austin 54 years ago and chose him 25 times to represent it in Washington. The record he wrote is not likely to be surpassed. His achievement is among the amazing superlatives of American political history.

Mr. RAYBURN's career was the epitome of the practical functioning of democracy where such intangibles as loyalty, friendship, and individual persuasion shape events more surely than the oratory of a Roosevelt or a Kennedy.

Above all else, Mr. RAYBURN was human. Four of the eight Presidents of the United States who knew him live today to mourn the loss of a personal friend. So do two young Dallas boys whom he greeted with "Glad to see young folks my age," when he interrupted a busy conference schedule not long ago. For millions of other Americans, too—who knew him only as the unsmiling, gavel-pounding arbitrator of Democratic National Conventions and sessions of the House of Representatives—a friend is gone.

Of all the lessons learned in mankind's chronicle, the most certain is that only history can weigh fairly the real worth of men. Many opposed with deep conviction the issues for which Mr. RAYBURN strove. In the struggle, he was a relentless fighter but usually a warm friend when the tumult died.

So be it today, for in death there are no foes. There is only the lasting memory of the love of the many Mr. RAYBURN befriended, and of the unique service he rendered longer than any other American.

[From the Fort Worth Star-Telegram, Nov. 17, 1961]

MR. SAM'S DEATH

The death of House Speaker SAM RAYBURN Thursday in his hometown of Bonham evokes now only sadness and a sense of political and personal loss. The lethal character of his ailment was thoroughly understood and many of his longtime friends and associates had paid him their respects while he was yet able to receive them.

Mr. SAM was a great Texan, a great American, and an outstanding public servant. He had served in the National House of Representatives for almost 49 years and as its Speaker for 17 years. He was honored and trusted by the leaders of both major political parties and revered in his own Democratic organization, for he possessed both the talent for powerful and persuasive leadership and great integrity.

It is no wonder that the Nation mourns his death and that congressional leaders recognize the difficulty of his replacement in a post that had become almost a traditional and personal thing.

If the warning of Mr. SAM's passing has blunted the shock of its occurrence, the grief is fresh and poignant. Few men have had the character to muster such understanding and courtesy in a role that required purpose and firmness.

It is indicative of Mr. SAM's stature that the President traveled to Texas to visit him in his last illness, as did former President

Truman. The late Speaker was a confidant and adviser of Presidents. His friends outside the party included former President Eisenhower, whom he knew as "Captain Ike" even in the latter's early Army days. In point of continuous service, he was dean of the House, although in the longevity record for the entire Congress he was outranked.

Mr. SAM was denied one of his wishes, that he might die "with my gavel in my hand," but he virtually did so. His fellow Texans will remember him as a plain man and a loyal friend, who placed duty above self. All Americans will remember him as a patriot and a statesman, who contributed enormously to this Nation's welfare and moral strength.

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Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, during Speaker SAM RAYBURN's political career, many of our great political writers and analysts wrote articles on this great man—some complimentary and some critical. But there was always one count on which they agreed, and that was that he was a great man and a big man.

During the critical illness of Mr. RAYBURN, Mr. William S. White wrote an article for the November 3 issue of the Evening Star, which I commend to the Members of this body:

RAYBURN, OF TEXAS: A BIG MAN

(By William S. White)

In his own full knowledge and by his own unterrified command, Speaker SAM RAYBURN has gone home, gone home for the last time.

From the big, glittering hospital in big Dallas they have taken him back to die of ravaging cancer in the quiet, windblown town of Bonham in the autumn of the 80th year of a life lived in memorably able and grumpily gallant service, to the United States of America.

Because I have had the unforgettable honor to be his intimate friend for nearly 30 years, and because I have never found it possible to speak publicly of any still living man as though he lay already dead, I have not before this wished to write of the imminent departure forever of RAYBURN, of Texas.

RECOGNIZES END IS NEAR

But RAYBURN, of Texas, himself, has ended any possible need for such a reticence. He has calmly recognized that the dark wings are hovering very close over him. And, having recognized as much, he has plainly said as much; or rather he has caused it to be said for him.

This he has done, I am entirely sure, because all his life he has loved candor, even hard candor, and because all his life he has not liked those soft, careful evasions so common to many of our public men. He has recognized that even in the last moments of life he has the harsh obligation which lies upon all highly placed and amply honored men not to be behindhand in surrendering the power and the glory when the time for that surrender has come.

He is making it decently possible for all those who must now bear the responsibility of choosing his successor as Speaker—the leaders in his House of Representatives, the President, and all manner of party captains and kings—to get about the somber but necessary task of preparing the succession.

For—and let no one suppose otherwise—the coming death of RAYBURN, of Texas, carries within it a national political crisis. It is said that no man is indispensable; but this man is, and long has been, or very nearly so. In the true sense, he has for nearly three decades been "Mr. Democrat." But he has also been the irreplaceable bridge, the vital cement, between all the contending wings of that Democratic Party which now bears all ultimate responsibility for the Government of the United States.

It is not simply that the whole complex of national legislation for these 30 years bears more of his imprint than that of any other man, living or dead. For this man has literally embodied much of all that is best in our national politics: An invariable public and private sense of honor and of deep responsibility; a wry, rough, generosity always carefully hidden; a compassion for all mankind never candied over with dripping sugar.

I do not suggest that RAYBURN, of Texas, was always "right" politically; for only little men must always and eternally be "right." He never wanted, nor respected, such uncritical, such jumping-up-and-down admiration.

NO PETTY ATTACKS

He was a stout, partisan Democrat; but he never learned to hate in a partisan way. The best measure of him as a politician that I know is this: He never could stomach petty attacks on any President of the United States, in whatever party. And inconceivable always to him was the littleness of many in attacking any President—Wilson, Hoover, Truman, Eisenhower, or Kennedy—in matters beyond the borders of the United States.

He was a great politician, yes. But, far better, he was a great man. In 30 years I never saw in him the smallest trace of smallness. So he was also more than a great man. He was a big man. And that is the best and truest of all possible epitaphs, of all possible farewells, to RAYBURN, of Texas.

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Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, for many years a figure almost as familiar on Capitol Hill as Speaker RAYBURN was Mr. Walter Hornaday, Washington correspondent for the Dallas Morning News. Following Mr. RAYBURN'S death, Mr. Hornaday, now retired, was asked by the News to write an article on his association with the Speaker.

Mr. Hornaday's frank portrayal of Speaker RAYBURN shows him as a man of strong convictions and deep integrity. The article follows:

[From the Dallas Morning News, Nov. 18, 1961]

CORRESPONDENT RECALLS RAYBURN PRESS SESSIONS

(By Walter C. Hornaday)

AUSTIN, TEX.—For more than 15 years, it was my good fortune to have almost daily contact with SAM RAYBURN while Congress was in session.

During that time I was the Washington correspondent of the Dallas Morning News and the Speaker was an important news source.

On the days that the House met, the Speaker would receive the press in his office just off the House floor. The press sessions were supposed to start 15 minutes before the House convened, but the newsmen considered themselves lucky if they had 5 minutes with Mr. RAYBURN. More often the time left for questioning would be 2, 3, even 1 minute.

It was remarkable the amount of information the Speaker could impart in these brief press conferences.

When Mr. RAYBURN had no news, the meetings with the reporters might become a pleasant discussion of the crop and weather situation in Fannin County or some reminiscing on his part.

Everything was off the record unless indicated otherwise. "In the room" was the way the Speaker expressed it. And woe to anyone who violated this rule.

There were times when Mr. RAYBURN would be so tied up he would cancel his meeting with the press. More than once it was because some folk from back home had called. His constituents had the right-of-way into his office. Even important Congressmen were kept cooling their heels while the Speaker chatted with hometown friends.

Mr. Rayburn heartily disliked the Dallas News because of its editorial policy and its sometimes critical comments about his own views and acts. He was always pleased when nice things were said about him but couldn't forget the unfavorable editorials. He didn't extend to me personally his attitude toward the newspaper I represented and went out of his way to so inform me.

His comments about the News and me would be made when I would drop by for a chat. Saturday morning, after he had finished his mail, was the best time for an uninterrupted visit during the cold months. During good weather of spring and fall he would most likely be fishing on Saturday.

The Speaker was a kind man, but he had his hearty hates that persisted underneath even when political circumstances forced him to deal with those he considered his enemies. To close friends, he didn't hesitate to voice his feelings about persons on his blacklist in positive and colorful terms.

In spite of long years of political life, Mr. Rayburn retained some of the countryman's suspicions of new faces. He was friendly enough to all he met for the first time, but newcomers had to undergo a testing period before being accepted even to the outmost approaches of the inner circle.

He was a reserved person. He had strict ideas about what was personal and private business and didn't want anyone encroaching on that area.

For some reason, Mr. Rayburn and I hit it off almost from the start. We had only one serious personal disagreement that I can recall and that difference caused no rift in our relations.

Some years ago while the News' Washington correspondent, I learned that the Speaker had personally appeared before the Democratic committee on committees, composed of Democrats in the House, to oppose a Texan for a committee vacancy. The Member had the necessary seniority but Mr. Rayburn thought his views were too far out of line from the party's and his own.

After I had verified the report, I asked the Speaker about the matter. Our conversation occurred in the Speaker's lobby of the House, where accredited newspaper reporters are privileged to enter and call Members from the floor.

My questions immediately aroused his ire. He informed me in a firm rather loud voice, for him, that I should not write that story. He said that if I did I would never receive another piece of information from him.

While other passing Congressmen and newsmen turned to watch curiously, I reminded the Speaker that he had told me that if I ever wanted correct information on matters involving him, to come to him for it. This I was doing, I explained.

My job, I continued, was to find and write the news. I was trying to get through to him that my integrity as a newspaperman was involved, hoping he would understand my viewpoint. I believe he caught the point, although he never did come out and say so.

Anyway, I wrote about the Texas Congressman being blocked and RAYBURN's part in it. I sent a copy to Mr. RAYBURN. When I next saw him he told me the story was all right, that he could not object to the way I had handled it.

This incident, I believed, helped me earn Mr. RAYBURN's respect and contributed to our friendship.

I have known many men in public life during my long years as a newspaper reporter, particularly as a writer of politics. Of them all, none has had the respect and admiration that I hold for SAM RAYBURN.

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Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, when the Honorable John F. Kennedy, President of the United States, left the bedside of former Speaker RAYBURN, he said "They don't make them like that any more."

Using this statement as their lead, Life magazine ran an editorial entitled "SAM RAYBURN's Frontier" in their issue of October 20, 1961. I commend the following article to the Members of this body:

SAM RAYBURN'S FRONTIER

"They don't make them like that any more," said the President of the United States of the Speaker of the House, as he left the stricken Texan's hospital bedside. With SAM RAYBURN a breed is passing whose like the American Nation will not see again. He is one of the last, living links with its frontier. In his boyhood in the Tennessee mountains women still carded and spun their own wool and the men drove wagon teams to the nearest railhead to trade corn grist for salt, nails and calico. Men still living then remembered when Andy Jackson, Davy Crockett and Sam Houston were fellow frontiersmen. RAYBURN's own father, Will, a Confederate cavalryman, could tell with remembered tears of standing at Appomattox when Lee surrendered. SAM, the 8th of 11 children, was 5 when Will and Martha Rayburn picked up stakes and went down the wagon road to Texas to seek a new and better life. When SAM went off at 17 to get "book larnin' " at East Texas Normal—

where he swept floors and milked cows to work his way—the $25 he took with him was about all the family had. "Character is all I have to give you," his father told him. "Be a man."

And character has distinguished SAM RAYBURN all the rest of his life. Lee, the hero he worshiped, said, "Duty then is the sublimest word in our language," and that was good enough for SAM. So was the frontier acceptance of a man's word as his bond. In the 48 years RAYBURN has served in Congress—more than a quarter of its history—no other man was more respected, loved or admired.

He was respected because he never went back on his word. He was loved because he never resented defeat or held a grudge ("I haven't time to hate anybody"), and was the soul of kindness, tolerance, and unassuming simplicity. He was admired because in the 17 years he has been Speaker—longer than any other man in history—he has managed through persuasion, tactful force and the dignity of his person to get effective legislation out of the warring factions of the Democratic Party. And by so doing he made his office the most powerful next to the Presidency itself. When his party was in the minority—as his good friend Dwight Eisenhower found—SAM RAYBURN kept it a loyal, and often indispensably helpful, opposition.

If his father fought to dissolve the Union, SAM RAYBURN has risked his own political life to preserve and strengthen it. In 1941, when Congress was ready to kill the draft only 4 months before Pearl Harbor, RAYBURN pulled it through by courage and tenacity. "I know you're on the spot but so is this country," he told the wavering. "I want you to vote for this bill even if it means your defeat. You've got to if this country is to live." The vote was 203 to 202.

As he grew old (he is 79), Mr. SAM had none of an old man's jealousy of youth. Instead, to each new generation of Congressmen, including Jack Kennedy, he imparted his wisdom: "Don't try to go too fast. Learn your job. Don't ever talk until you know what you're talking about." He was not ashamed to weep openly when he was deeply moved, as when he said farewell to Alben Barkley: "God comfort his loved ones. God comfort me."

Mr. SAM was more at home with older fashioned Democrats like Truman and Johnson than with Kennedy's manicured New Frontiersmen from eastern cities. But he accepted this change, like all others, with face turned uncomplainingly forward. The man who appropriated funds for the first U.S. tank did likewise for the race to the moon. The man who heard firsthand stories of Indian raids did not lose the frontier's caution ("We must look the world in the face; it is a dangerous world") even as he preserved its neighborliness ("I look forward to peace and friendliness for all good peoples of the world").

We shall not see his like again. No other Speaker can possess his personal link to Appomattox or the wagon trail west. But the American character that forged SAM RAYBURN's own, need not change, if we can teach ourselves and our sons to pursue as diligently his concepts of duty, integrity, loyalty, fairness, forgiveness, and humility which made this simple man a great man. In his words, we've got to, if this country is to live.

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Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Mr. W. B. Ragsdale, of the national staff of U.S. News & World Report, a longstanding friend of former Speaker SAM RAYBURN, has sketched a word portrait of the Speaker which appeared in the October 23, 1961, issue of the U.S. News & World Report. I believe the impression Mr. Ragsdale conveys of this great man is a clear and vivid one:

AN OLD FRIEND WRITES OF SAM RAYBURN

(The career in Congress of Speaker SAM RAYBURN spans a political era now closing. Mr. RAYBURN was at the center of things from the time of Woodrow Wilson on—into the time of John F. Kennedy. W. B. Ragsdale, of the national staff of U.S. News & World Report, first met Mr. RAYBURN in Washington in 1928. Their latest visit—the last of many—was in Bonham, Tex., a few days before Mr. RAYBURN's doctors announced that the Speaker was incurably ill. This is Mr. Ragsdale's word portrait of an old friend—Speaker of the House for more years than any other man in history.)

SAM RAYBURN would not have used any of the adjectives the other people are using about him now.

The Speaker talked plainly and lived simply. He liked honey for breakfast. He liked cornbread and sweet milk for dinner. Many a time, at Bonham, he would have just a dish of cornmeal mush for dinner.

Mr. RAYBURN lived by a simple code: Be kind. Tell the truth. Be fair. Do what you think is best for the country. Be a man.

To SAM RAYBURN, these were not just words. They were a way of life throughout his career.

This was clearly apparent in the last visit that I had with the Speaker at his home in Bonham in September.

I arrived on September 16. The Speaker was lying, fully dressed but shirtsleeved, on a sofa in the back sitting room. A wood fire crackled on the hearth. His sister, Mrs. Robert Bartley, went in with me. His greeting was familiar and cordial.

Mr. RAYBURN had just returned from what had been—although no one knew it then—his last visit to his farm to look over his crops and cattle before going to a hospital in Dallas. He was cheerful. Except for the pain in his back, Mr. RAYBURN said he was feeling fine.

"It's just lumbago," he said. "But the doctors found some poison in my system that they are trying to get rid of. They say for me to take it easy—and I am. I just lie here and no nothing."

At home in Bonham, Mr. RAYBURN's day was filled with callers—in person and by telephone. The Speaker answered the telephone himself, and turned no one away. In the intervals that I was with him, these things happened:

A neighbor dropped in. He had remodeled a building to house a post office and wanted assurance that the Government would pay enough rent for him to get his money back.

"That seems fair," said Mr. RAYBURN, "I'll see what I can do about it."

A House committee chairman called from Washington with a legislative problem, Mr. RAYBURN took care of it.

A reporter telephoned to check a rumor that the Speaker planned to retire. He said: "No."

Charles A. Halleck, House Republican leader, called to tell the Speaker he was being missed in the Capitol.

A grandmother rang up to ask what she could do about her grandson who was not interested in school. The Speaker listened patiently, then told her he was not an expert on raising children.

A man wanted help to get his son out of the Texas National Guard, which had been called to active duty. Seems that the boy joined the guard to keep from being inducted into the Army.

A telegram came in from Bernard M. Baruch, saying: "I'm sure that you are only suffering from growing pains. To me, you are just a teenager." Mr. Baruch, 91; Mr. RAYBURN, 79.

Through more than 30 years, I had many hours of personal, informal talks with Mr. RAYBURN. Some impressions—

ON THE RACE ISSUE

The Speaker, a Texan, dealt with people as individuals. He felt that there were good people and bad people in every race. Every man had a right to live his own life and be treated fairly. But every man had to earn respect for himself, in his own way. He had little patience with extremists on either side of the race issue.

ON POLITICIANS

Throughout his public life Mr. RAYBURN disagreed with all his heart with those who ridicule and distrust politicians. To him, politics was the profession of Jefferson and Washington, an honorable one that should draw into it men of high caliber. He disliked demagogues and demagoguery, believed in fighting out issues on their merits. The smooth, smart television politicians of today disturbed him a little, but he respected them, nevertheless.

ON PARTIES

Mr. RAYBURN early won a reputation as a fighting Democrat. During the years, from 1940 on, when his party was engaged in factional rows in Texas, he was always a loyalist. He often said that he thought that the Democratic Party came closer to reflecting the views of the people—but he held in high esteem most of the Republicans with whom he worked.

On the American people: At no time during his years in Washington did Mr. RAYBURN ever doubt that the American people would fail to meet any emergency that might develop, if they knew the problem and understood what was expected of them.

ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Speaker's philosophy—people of all nations must learn to live together in peace; but the people of each nation should be allowed to live their own lives as they see fit, and without outside interference.

Far back in the Truman administration, I caught Mr. RAYBURN in a reminiscent mood in a hotel room at Miami Beach. It was during a meeting of the Democratic National Committee. Nothing was happening except speechmaking, and Mr. RAYBURN had heard his quota of speeches.

Of his own inheritance, he said: My father was a poor man and a farmer. He told me that he did not have much money to leave his children. All he could give us was character. When I was elected to the Texas Legislature, he rode to the train with me. I was 24. All the advice he gave me was: "Sam, be a man."

About how he went to college: "There were 11 of us children. My father had a 40-acre cotton farm. It was the first year that cotton prices had been as high as 9 cents a pound. My father, mother, 11 children, and an uncle were living together. We did not have much money.

"I asked my father's permission to go to college. I did not ask for money. I thought I could make out. He agreed. When he took me to the train, he gave me $25. That was all the money I had.

"I went to East Texas Normal College and got a job ringing the college bells and sweeping the floors in a public school. Somehow, I made it. I went to college, dropped out and taught school, went back to college. When I was in the legislature, I went to law school at the University of Texas in my spare time."

In a New Orleans hotel, I found the Speaker relaxing between sessions of another party meeting. He told how he had been inspired to go into politics.

"I was just 12 years old," he said. "Joseph W. Bailey, then a Congressman from Texas, came to Bonham to speak. Our farm was several miles from Bonham. I walked through the rain to hear him.

"I was just a timid country boy. When I got there, the townfolks had crowded in and gotten all the seats. I stood for 2 hours and listened while the rain dripped down the back of my neck from the edge of the roof.

"I was so carried away with what I heard that I vowed that one day I would be Speaker of the House."

Again, during a visit made to Bonham in 1958, the Speaker relaxed and talked about many things. This was at his office in the Sam Rayburn Memorial Library. The library was his pride and joy during the latter years of his life, and the office is an exact duplicate of the Speaker's office in the U.S. Capitol.

On books: "I hope that this can be made into the best library of American history there is in the United States. I always liked to read. In Washington, when I was lonely, I liked to browse through the secondhand bookstores. There you find books on American history. But I always felt guilty when I had a book in my library that I had not read. I got into the habit of writing 'SR' on the bottom of page 99 in every book that I read."

On the Senate and the Presidency: "I'd rather be Speaker of the House than 10 Senators. I never had the slightest desire to be a Senator or Governor. I love the House. So far as the Presidency is concerned, I was born in the wrong part of the country and at the wrong time to ever become President. I have achieved everything I wanted."

In quiet moments in his apartment, just north of Dupont Circle on Connecticut Avenue in Washington, the Speaker often dropped into a reflective mood in his conversation. For example—

On the seniority system in Congress: "I don't see any substitute for it. I have studied the question a great deal over the years. On the committees, there always is somebody who has served many years who is capable of being chairman. Not too many mediocre men stay in Congress long enough to get to the top of an important committee. The voters see to that. Those who are members of a committee for a long time learn the problems before the committee and become good leaders."

Of his advice to Harry S. Truman when his old friend suddenly became President: "I told him this: 'I have been watching the White House for many years. I know some of its hazards. Your biggest danger is in the White House, itself. Some of the people around you are going to try to do to you what they have tried to do to every President—they are going to try to build a fence around you, and in building that fence they will be keeping out the very people you should see. Don't let that happen.' I gave the same advice to Dwight D. Eisenhower and to John F. Kennedy."

Although a strong party man, Mr. RAYBURN did not believe in ironbound party discipline. At various times through the years, he gave these views—

On the Republican-Democratic coalition in Congress: "I never was for blocs—never joined one. I wanted to be a free, independent legislator; to vote my own sentiments. Of course, my sentiments are usually on the side of the Democrats, because I have had a part in making up their program."

On applying pressure to Members of Congress: "I do not believe in asking a man to vote against his own interests. A long time ago, I was running for the Texas legislature. A friend came to me, and said: 'SAM, I'd like to vote for you, but this man you are running against is a power in my section. I'm going to run for prosecuting attorney and I need his support. What would you advise me to do?'

"I told my friend to go ahead and vote for the other fellow, that I was going to beat him anyway.

"Things even out in the long run; if you lose a vote one time, you will get it back again when you need it more."

The Speaker seldom discussed his role in Congress. When he did, it was in a wholly impersonal manner.

Few people know of the part that Mr. RAYBURN played in initiating the atomic-bomb program during World War II. Long after the event, the Speaker told me this story in this way:

"Gen. George Marshall and Secretary of War Henry Stimson came quietly to my office one day during the war. They brought a scientist with them and explained what they had in mind. They wanted to make an atomic bomb and said the Germans already were working on such a project. But they could not go before a congressional committee and explain the project. It had to be kept secret. They needed $800 million to start the work.

"I called in some of the committeemen and told them that $800 million was needed for the war. That was all the members of the committee knew about it, and it was all that the House knew. They did not ask any questions. That was all the information the House had on which to appropriate $800 million. The work was started."

It was not just Congressmen who took Speaker RAYBURN at his word. In 1952, an issue of U.S. News & World Report went to press on his word.

Adlai E. Stevenson had just been nominated for President by the Democratic National Convention. It was late Friday night. The convention adjourned until Saturday, when it would choose a vice-presidential candidate.

Publication of the magazine was being held up to include the vice-presidential nomination.

At 1 a.m. on Saturday, President Truman, Mr. Stevenson, Mr. RAYBURN, and other party leaders went into a meeting to decide upon a candidate for Vice President. They met in a little room set aside for Mr. RAYBURN, as presiding officer of the convention.

When the meeting ended, none of the participants would talk publicly. I caught Mr. RAYBURN by telephone just as he entered his hotel suite, about 2 a.m.

"It's going to be John Sparkman of Alabama," he said. "That is the decision."

On that word, the magazine's final story had already been written when, about 12 hours later, the convention nominated Mr. Sparkman.

There were quiet times with the Speaker. Indeed, he liked quiet. He was not gabby, and he was not a back slapper.

In 1960, at the Los Angeles convention, I talked with the Speaker after the nomination of John F. Kennedy for President. Mr. RAYBURN was alone. He had fought for the nomination of his protégé, Lyndon Johnson, and had lost.

"Kennedy is in there now trying to persuade Lyndon to be Vice President," he said. "I hope Lyndon doesn't take it."

Then he went home to fight for the election of the Democratic ticket.

Less than a year later, I talked with Mr. RAYBURN in his office at the Capitol.

Of President Kennedy, he said: "He is a fine man, sharp as a tack. He is the best listener I have ever seen. You don't have to draw a map for him. He understands a situation when you tell him about it, and does something. He will make us a fine President."

On a quiet Saturday, the Speaker talked of many things.

About private political understandings: "You'll never get mixed up if you simply tell the truth. Then you don't have to remember what you have said, and you never forget what you have said."

On handling Congress: "Jack Garner used to say, 'You can't run the House without getting your knuckles bloody.' I don't see it that way. Most men are reasonable. I think 95 percent of them mean to do right. You can persuade men and lead them easier than you can drive them."

On home: "When I get away from Washington, I don't want to go anywhere in the world except home, and to see my lovely country, to see what little possessions I have, and to associate with my brothers and sisters and old friends. Home looks better to me than any place in the world."

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Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, our Mr. Sam is gone; we will never again hear him call, "The House will be in order." His point of view, his philosophy if you will, is still with us and will continue to have its effect on our proceedings here in this Chamber. One of the last interviews Mr. Sam granted took place after he went home to Bonham. It appeared in the magazine U.S. News & World Report for October 9, 1961, and is called "Sam Rayburn Takes a Look at the World." As we start this 2d session of the 87th Congress, under a new Speaker, ready to move forward under his leadership, let us stop long enough to read the inspiring and wise words of our late friend and mentor:

Sam Rayburn Takes a Look at the World

(With the first congressional session of the Kennedy administration now history, how does the record look to one of the most powerful men in Congress—the 79-year-old Speaker of the House, Sam Rayburn? And how does Mr. Sam measure the pulse of the country, and the world? Drawing on his years of experience, what does he feel about the critical present, the uncertain future? To find out, W. B. Ragsdale, of the national staff of U.S. News & World Report, went to Bonham, Tex., to get this exclusive interview with the dean of the House of Representatives, a personal acquaintance since the 1920's.)

SAM RAYBURN

(It was nearly half a century ago that SAM RAYBURN, of Texas, entered Congress—and he has been there ever since. Mr. RAYBURN has worked with eight U.S. Presidents, has been Speaker of the House more years than any other man in history.)

Question. Mr. Speaker, these are dangerous times. Do you think that enough of the national effort is being turned toward strengthening this Nation? In other words, could people do more?

Answer. It is just a question of how much the people know, how much they are called upon to do. And that is what I have been trying to do—to bring them face to face with their responsibilities as citizens, or as a part of a group of citizens, or as a party, and let them know that their responsibility right now is terrific.

Question. Do you think most Americans are aware of that responsibility and realize what it means?

Answer. If this generation doesn't live up to its responsibilities, then what of the next generation, or the next?

I try to say to people that we are all in this thing together, we all go up and stay up, or we all go down together. There is no room now for selfishness. There is no place for hate and distrust. We must set out on the broad highway together and keep going.

Question. Most of the world's troubles seem to stem from Nikita Khrushchev. Have you formed any personal impression of him as a man or as a leader?

Answer. I met him once at a dinner at the White House. I sat some distance away from him. After dinner, President Eisenhower said, "Come in here, SAM, and talk to this man." So I got up close to him so I could look at him.

I wouldn't say that he had a face I liked, at all. My impression was that he had a cruel face, and I still think that. I wasn't in his presence long enough to form much of an opinion of him, except that I have looked in the faces of a lot of men and I have judged them by their looks. And that is how I judged him.

Question. Did he impress you as a man who would dare drop a nuclear bomb on this country?

Answer. Well, if we were in that business—big war—yes. Now, whether he is reckless enough to drop the first hydrogen bomb, I don't know. He would have to be a pretty reckless man, because he knows other people have agencies of destruction just like he has. And I imagine he wants to live.

I would think that his scientists have acquainted him with all the destructive elements in these things—how far reaching would be the effects. I think he hesitates to drop the first one.

Question. Let's look at it from the U.S. standpoint. Do you feel that this still is a great and powerful Nation?

Answer. Yes, the greatest and most powerful. And when called upon to exert its strength, it will do it now as it always has. I do not lose confidence in the fortitude and valor, patriotism and bravery of the average American. I think they are as high now as they have always been.

A great many people are standing on the corner criticizing this, that and the other, but when the supreme test comes, they usually come through, too.

Question. Are you saying that the people are just as self-reliant as ever? Is that what you think?

Answer. I do. I would hate to live in a country if I didn't have faith and confidence in the people. I think the American people are the best jury I ever saw an accused tried before, when they know all the facts.

Question. One hears a great deal of talk that people are getting more selfish than they used to be. What about that?

Answer. Well, a great many of them have more to be selfish about. They own more property, they have more income, and they want to keep it.

But selfishness has always been and always will be. Nearly everybody is going to be a little selfish about what they have to provide for their family. But when it comes down to the point of my saying that anything like the majority of the American people are selfish to the extent that they wouldn't support their Government in a crisis, I just don't believe it.

Question. Coming down to specifics, Mr. Speaker, does the level of Federal spending disturb you?

Answer. Well, of course, any spending disturbs people. Any payment of taxes disturbs people. But we must look the world in the face, and this is not a very happy world we are living in. It is a dangerous world, more dangerous to the civilization we know and love than people ever sought to exist in.

But, as long as the world is in an arms race, and as long as reckless people have hold of weapons that are totally destructive, we must spend.

We must keep ahead in that race so that we can defend ourselves. This takes a lot of money. We are spending $40 billion a year for defense. Now, that is one thing that we can't cut down on if we have any judgment. We just have to have the money to produce the things that are necessary to defend ourselves.

The national debt is big and is going to remain big.

Taxes are high, and they are going to remain high until the world settles down.

Unless we can have what President Kennedy spoke about in his speech at the United Nations—disarmament, real disarmament—

we must go on spending. This arms race is what is costing the money, and we have to stay in it as long as it lasts.

I admired the President very much for the bold, frank statement he made to the people at the Assembly, and to the whole world.

Question. There are some people who say we are spending too much on social welfare and things of that kind——

Answer. And they don't know what they're talking about, a great many of them. A lot of people talk about social welfare and this, that, and the other, and don't know much about it.

Every time you say something about social welfare, people go to yelling "socialism" and "welfare state" and all this. We don't have any welfare state. We haven't lost our grip on our domestic problems, and we aren't going to.

But there are just so many people who are going to jump up and accuse the other fellow of spending, spending, spending. And when those people are in power, they keep right on spending, spending, spending.

It is kind of ridiculous at times.

GOVERNMENT HAD TO GROW

Question. Are you disturbed by the growth of Government?

Answer. If I answered that question flatly, I would have to say that I am not. Government had to grow.

Talk about the simple Government of Jefferson—of course, it was simple. There were just a few more than 3 million people, and there were no communications. There was not a hard-surfaced road in the United States, and there was no such thing as a monopoly at that time, because the Nation just wasn't big enough.

As these things grew and developed, the Government had to grow. At that time there weren't any railroads to regulate, no rates to fix, no bonds to be issued. But, as business grew, then trust laws had to be enacted and enforced, and it look a lot of people to do that. The same thing about the railroads—they started little, but they became big, and it went on and on.

Rural electrification came. That was the greatest boon to the farmer that I have ever seen.

And then, take Federal aid to highways. In 1944 I had them put into the bill for aid to highways a provision that 30 percent of every dollar that was spent by the Federal Government for highways must be spent on farm-to-market roads.

As we grow, the Government must grow. It is one thing to pass the law, and it is another thing to enforce it. I don't shrink from the proposition that the Government has grown, because where the Government has grown, it has been adding something that was in the interest of the public.

Question. You said earlier that defense and these other things cost a lot of money. Do you think that taxes are now about as high as people can stand?

Answer. You never know what people can stand. They are carrying a great burden now, of course. And we are hoping that we don't have to increase that burden, but, if the time should come when we needed more money—if we just had to have more money—I don't think there would be anything that would prevent Congress from raising taxes in certain places.

I think the people would go along if they had the information and knew the taxes were needed.

Question. Mr. Speaker, let's talk about you, personally, for a moment. How long have you been in public life?

Answer. I first ran for the Texas Legislature in 1906, and went into the legislative session of 1907. I went to Congress in 1913.

Question. You must have seen amazing changes in all those years——

Answer. Well, you would need to write a book, and even then that wouldn't be able to tell all of them.

Question. By and large, do you feel the changes have been for the better?

Answer. I think government—both State and Federal—is more responsive now to the wishes and the needs of the people than it has been at any time during my legislative experience.

I know the changes have been for the better. We couldn't have gone on like we have if they were not.

Question. Have you noticed many changes in the role of Congress in that period?

Answer. Not too many—we have the same number of men and women in the House as they had then.

As far as I am individually concerned, I think that the character and ability of the men and women who are in Congress have not deteriorated, and I think that the caliber in education, experience, and so forth, for the Members of the House of Representatives today is probably higher than it was when I went there.

I am not one of those who say that we don't have as big men in Congress as we used to have. I think that is nonsense. I think we have more men and women of real ability in the Congress of the United States than I have ever known, and I think they have demonstrated it on many occasions.

When something that has affected the national interest has come up, a big majority of them—not all, but a big majority—has laid partisanship aside and moved ahead in the right direction.

SAM RAYBURN

HOW STRONG A PRESIDENT

Question. What about the White House? Do you think the Presidency has gained in power over the years?

Answer. The President, of course, has always had vast powers. He executes the law as Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces, and in those fields, of course, the President has maintained power.

The question is always: Who is the strong man? During my time we have had eight Presidents. Most of them have been strong men, some stronger than others.

The Congress of the United States wants the President to exercise his powers, and it wants to exercise its own powers—and it does. It does this every time a bill advocated by the administration comes up in the House. It exercises its power. It follows the President's recommendations, or it goes along its own line, takes another approach.

Sometimes this is better than the original approach made by the President, and the Presidents are always willing to agree that, if the Congress passes a better bill than they advocated, they are happy about it if they are the right kind of President—and most of them are.

Question. What about the present administration? How did Mr. Kennedy make out in the session of Congress just closed?

Answer. I think President Kennedy had one of the most successful sessions of Congress that I have ever served in. In his state of the Union message he laid down quite a program. Much of it was controversial.

The Congress passed on every one of his proposals in some way, and the vast majority of them have been enacted into law.

Therefore, I think that this 1st term of the 87th Congress, working with Mr. Kennedy, has done a real job. It has responded to his suggestions, and has enacted a very fine program.

Question. The President didn't get everything he wanted, though, did he?

Answer. No, not everything. But he got most of what he had asked for except the school business, and we did continue two very essential parts of that program.

Question. Would you say the record of the session is as good as you had expected?

Answer. It certainly is. I thought there would be more controversy about a great many legislative proposals.

And I will say this, also: There has been very little backbiting in the House of Representatives. Very few Republicans have been against something simply because a Democratic President wanted it.

There has been such a small amount of partisanship that it has been very pleasing to me.

Question. How would you list the credit side—the principal accomplishments—of the session just ended?

Answer. This divides into several parts. First—to fight the depression and start the country to moving again—there were, among the most important things, measures for area redevelopment, for housing—the most comprehensive program in history—an increase in minimum wages, a new farm bill, a strengthening of the whole fabric of defense, several important foreign-affairs measures. This Congress was one of the most productive in our history.

WHEN CONGRESS MEETS NEXT

Question. Now that this session is over, what are some of the problems that will have to be dealt with next session?

Answer. There are always new ones.

Of course, this school thing will have to be faced again, and I would imagine there will be some kind of solution, or compromise.

Foreign aid will be up again. There will be a row over that again. Some people don't believe there should be any aid.

And reciprocal trade will be up again. There are some people who would like to do away with reciprocal-trade agreements and go back to setting up tariff walls. But I think our American industry has got to adjust itself to a great many things.

Question. In what way?

Answer. There is a complaint about Japanese textile. Now, we are a nation with many surpluses. We have a surplus in cotton. How much of a squeeze can we put on Japanese goods and still sell Japan several million bales of cotton? There are a lot of places where you can buy cotton, you know. And those new factories in Japan are up to date. A great deal of our American machinery is not up to date, and our industry is going to have to adjust itself.

We cannot afford—this greatest surplus-producing country in the world—cannot afford to settle down behind a tariff wall. If we enact tariff laws against other nations, they will enact tariff laws against us.

Money doesn't cross the ocean to balance trade. It's surplus goods for surplus goods. We must stay with some kind of arrangement whereby we can take their surplus goods and they can take ours, or our trade is bogged down. That's all there is to it.

Question. Speaking of industry, there are reports that the administration is opposed to business. Will you comment of this?

Answer. That is utter nonsense. No administration that had any sense would be against business. We want business to be prosperous. In order to carry on, we have to have people prosper and make profits whereby they pay taxes.

Question. Does business continue to have a fair hearing in Congress?

Answer. Yes, it certainly does, and always has had.

Question. What about the strength of union labor in Congress? Is that growing?

Answer. Union labor has a lot of strength, of course, because it has these millions of people. How much power labor has in Congress, I don't know.

TAKING THE PUBLIC'S PULSE

Question. There sometimes have been complaints that Congress is slow to respond to public wishes. Do you think that perhaps too much power may have been concentrated in the hands of minorities in some of the key committees?

Answer. No, I do not.

Now, this thing of responding to public wishes—well—sometimes it takes a long time to find out what the public wishes are.

The big storm for or against measures comes from a small minority, and Congress wants to wait around and see not only whether these changes are necessary, but whether they are wise, whether they would be in the public interest. Congress must determine by legislative procedure what it thinks is in the public interest, after hearings in committees, debates on the floor, and so forth.

But on this thing of responding to public wishes—sometimes we find out that what seems to be a public wish really is only that of a small minority. We determine that it is not in the public interest, so we don't enact it.

Question. Do you mean that first you have to find out what the public wish really is?

Answer. And on top of that, what is the wise thing to do? Sometimes the public might wish a thing this year and find out next year, that if it had been enacted it would have been a mistake.

Congress just doesn't like to be rushed. And it shouldn't be on these vast questions. Great deliberation should be had, and many times it takes time.

Taking time sometimes is not really a loss of time.

Question. In the end, would you say that the will of Congress generally is the will of the people?

Answer. Generally, yes. It might not be the apparent will of the people at that moment, but wise people—and the people of the United States are wise when they know the facts—finally determine what is the right thing to do.

Question. There are those who say that Members of Congress think first of their home district, then of the national interest. How do you feel about that?

Answer. The man who comes to Congress has received the endorsement of his people. He thinks he is sent there to represent them, to get justice and fair play for them.

The people at home have shown faith and confidence in him that he will do the right thing in representing them: the projects in their district, how friendly they are to agriculture, if there is a lot of labor in the district, how friendly they are to labor and how fair they are to enterprise, too.

Then, if he or she has energy along with ability—and ability isn't much unless it has energy with it, because it doesn't go into operation—then I think they will say, "This is my country; this whole country is mine."

I think the average Member of the House of Representatives is a patriotic person who really, in the last analysis, wants to do the best, for the whole country, that he is capable of doing.

Question. When it comes to expressing the will of the people, do you feel it would be better if the Members of the House were elected every 4 years, rather than 2.

Answer. There are some people who say House Members ought to be able to serve during the whole term of the President.

Well, suppose at the middle of the term the people back home became dissatisfied with what was going on, and justifiably so? I think the people should be allowed to change. And, therefore, I am for continuing 2-year elections of Members of the House of Representatives.

Question. Looking closely at Congress, geographically, would you say that the South is losing power?

Answer. I would not. They have the chairmanships of a great many of the committees, and I think inside those committees nearly everybody is pretty reasonable.

When it comes to the floor of the House, some people have always wanted to build up this Republican-southern bloc. Well, if they tried to organize this bloc against the Kennedy program, they didn't get very far this past session. I think that thing has been blown up, and blown up beyond what its influence really is.

I think a great many of the men from the South are getting tired of being put into that lineup. And probably, too, some from the North are hearing their people say, "Well, this fellow has joined up with the Dixiecrats."

I never was for blocs—never joined one. I wanted to be a free, independent legislator; to vote my sentiment. And, of course, my sentiments are usually on the side the Democrats take, because I have had a part in making up that program.

ABSOLUTE FAITH IN THE UNITED STATES

Question. Mr. RAYBURN, almost all the pressures building in the country are exerted upon you in the Speaker's office. As you watch these pressures, and feel them, what crosses your mind about the American people—their present and their future; the future of the world?

Answer. I have absolute faith in the American people. I believe that more than 95 percent of the American people have more good in them than bad. And, when properly appealed to, they will respond—now as they have in the past.

The American people have never failed to respond to the best interests of the country when this country was in danger and in a crisis. I just know that they will do it again if they are called upon.

The great body of the American people is sound, patriotic, and willing to sacrifice to the limit to preserve, protect, and to perpetuate the great future of this great country.

I have never doubted the patriotism or the willingness of the American people to sacrifice and do the right thing. I think we will come through in a fashion that will make us all proud.

So I look forward to living in this country at peace, I hope, and in friendliness for all good peoples of the world. We want other people to have their real life, and we want ours.

We do not want to interfere with the affairs of other governments. And we want to stay at home and attend to our own business, and to build our own structure without interference from anybody else.

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Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, "Some men die ingloriously. Some men die gloriously. And some men are discerning enough to note the difference between."

The above is the first paragraph of an article by Myrtie Barker which appeared in the November 29, 1961, issue of the Indianapolis News. The article, entitled "Late Great Mr. SAM Rode Tall in Saddle," reflects upon the manner in which SAM RAYBURN lived and died.

I ask unanimous consent, on behalf of myself and my senior colleague from Indiana [Mr. Capehart] that this meaningful article be printed as follows:

LATE GREAT MR. SAM RODE TALL IN SADDLE

(By Myrtle Barker)

Some men die ingloriously. Some men die gloriously. And some men are discerning enough to note the difference between.

A letter came today.

It's the kind of letter from which a minister might wangle a sermon. As I read it, I thought of Thanatopsis. Incidentally, William Cullen Bryant, who wrote that poem, was not even 18 years old when he penned his classic view of death.

I keep thinking of that one particular line: "So live, that when thy summons comes."

In its way, the letter that has arrived is just that eloquent. And I hope that somewhere in the Great Beyond, Mr. SAM is looking on pleased and proud.

The reader who took time out of this busy life to write, had viewed over television the funeral service of Mr. SAM RAYBURN, the late Speaker of the House.

It was a very dramatic experience, witnessing the deep respect bestowed upon a man beloved even by those of opposing political faiths.

The Chief Executive, President John F. Kennedy, was there; former President Truman, former President Eisenhower, Senators, Congressmen, Supreme Court members. The great assembly, plus maybe 50 million others, observing the funeral on television, evidenced the high regard of everyone for the departed.

As our correspondent watched the solemn ceremony, the lives and deaths of other people of history were compared with that of Mr. Democrat. Listen:

"There was William the Conqueror, who subdued all England. He gained great earthly glory for himself.

"He originated the feudal system in England in furtherance of his personal gain; he established the curfew to control the people, he set aside large estates for his hunting grounds, destroying houses and villages for this purpose, providing the same penalties for trespassing on his hunting preserves as for murder * * *.

"When he died, there was only one poor knight by the name of Herloun to attend him. Even his own sons did not attend his funeral. His own monument was arranged for by himself, before he died. There were no friends to mourn his passing.

"His son, William Rufus, who succeeded him to the throne, met with similar treatment at his death. He was refused religious burial.

"George III was King of England for 60 years—the longest reign in English history.

"He died in 1820—an insane, convulsive, blind old man, without friends.

"Kaiser Wilhelm, who tried to conquer the world, was another who came to a dishonorable end. There were Hitler and Mussolini—remembered only as butchers of the human race.

"And, of course, we couldn't forget Napoleon. For a time he ruled all Europe. He is said to have been responsible for the death of 8 million human lives, all sacrificed to serve his ambition to rule the world. But his power came to an end, a tragic end.

"At age 52, he died in St. Helena with only two or three of his military cronies attending him."

Two words from Thanatopsis seem to be the only answer to it all. "So live."

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Mr. WHITENER. In every community in the Nation Mr. RAYBURN's passing was a great shock to the people. In North Carolina I suppose every newspaper carried an editorial upon his life and service. Under unanimous consent I include the editorials of the Charlotte Observer and Shelby Daily Star of November 17, 1961, and the Gastonia Gazette of November 16, 1961:

[From the Charlotte Observer, Nov. 17, 1961]

A POLITICAL ERA NEARS END WITH DEATH OF MR. SAM

The words "Mr. RAYBURN is up" always had an electrifying effect in the cloakrooms and corridors of the Capitol.

Members of the House of Representatives would crowd back into the Chamber to hear him. They expected no bombast, and got none. The stocky, bald Texan would state his argument succinctly. The rapport between the Speaker and Members of the House often did the rest.

They respected his fairness, his judgment, and his integrity. They were conscious of his matchless experience, both as a Member and Speaker of the body to which they belonged. And they hesitated to take him on in a no-holds-barred legislative fight.

The death of SAM RAYBURN in the north Texas farming community of Bonham practically spells the end to a dramatic and crucial era in the history of the United States.

We are now in living in the age of those who were born in the 20th century. The New Frontier is the hallmark of Washington. The days of Wilson and Hoover, the trials of Roosevelt and Truman have faded as the larger dangers of the nuclear age have come to confront the Kennedys and the Nixons.

But we look back in nostalgia at the molding of a country's character and purpose, from the moment SAM RAYBURN claimed his House seat in 1913 under President Wilson, to the day in 1961 that the sun set the last time for him beyond the prairies of his beloved Texas.

RAYBURN was in a large measure the embodiment of standard, if largely passé, American political traits in the early days of the century.

By dint of hard work, thrift, personal sacrifice and determination, he rose from his poor and unpromising beginning as the eighth of 11 children in a Texas farm family, to one of the most powerful positions in the Government of the United States.

At the age of 12, RAYBURN stood unobtrusively in the rain at Bonham to hear a speech by Representative Joseph W. Bailey, later to become a U.S. Senator from Texas. He marked that day in 1894 as one of resolution to follow in the footsteps of the Congressman whose words paled in the aura of dignity and importance surrounding him.

This impressionable lad was in the Texas House 12 years later. He invested his legislator's fee of $5 a day to study law at the University of Texas in Austin. Five years later he was speaker of the statehouse and in a year more he was elected to the 63d Congress.

RAYBURN's steady climb to the congressional summit culminated just before World War II. Elected Speaker of the U.S. House in 1940, he went on to more than double Whig Speaker Henry Clay's record of service in that position.

His effectiveness lay not only in his basic faith in the judgment of the American people and those who represented them—given the facts upon which to base their decisions—but in his conviction that people who can't lead by persuasion can't lead at all.

His dedication to his job was complete. His aspirations, if they lay beyond the Speaker's gavel, were shunted aside as he threw his support to others within the party. As one of its leading architects, he became, in fact, the party's Mr. Democrat—a title worn neither haughtily nor intolerantly.

SAM RAYBURN

SAM RAYBURN was an American who made the most of the opportunities in his path. He was the confidant of Presidents, but he was unpretentious and ungregarious. He was, at the core, solid as a rock—not perfect—but good for this country.

A fitting epitaph might be the words quickly passed in the Capitol when he arose to speak:

"Mr. RAYBURN is up."

[From the Shelby Daily Star, Nov. 17, 1961]

MR. SAM EPITOMIZED FAITHFUL SERVICE IN A PUBLIC OFFICE

A soft-spoken Texan rode herd on the House in the person of SAM RAYBURN.

A Texan who knew how to use the spur, but seldom had to.

A Texan who knew what blinders were for, but never felt it necessary to shutter anybody's eyes.

A Texan who knew all the rules and how and when to use them, who time and time again corralled the votes to implement legislation vital to the Nation.

When he fell on sleep in the Texas town he loved Thursday morning, he was a man honored as few men have ever been.

It would be hard to imagine SAM RAYBURN not among friends. For with a gentleness of spirit and a steel-hard quality of conviction, he had lived a lifetime in the thick of partisan politics without earning the bitterness of any man, Democrat or Republican.

His longevity in political life and his rise to exalted position rested on his knowing how to get along with people. His favorite advice to new Members of Congress was: "Be reasonable. Be fair."

The House speakership represented the pinnacle of his aspirations. He never wanted to be a Senator, never sought a governorship, though he unquestionably could have had either.

Impeccably dressed, usually in a dark suit, Mr. SAM was immensely dignified as presiding officer of the House. He would lean back in his tall, brown leather swivel chair and seem to take only a passive interest in the endless drone of debate. But if any opponent thought the Speaker was woolgathering and wouldn't detect a well-camouflaged attack, he soon found out differently. The Speaker was ever on the alert.

SAM RAYBURN held many records, both for years in service, and for tenure in the office of Speaker. Often the very length of his years in the House tended to overshadow the role he played in all those years in the passage of legislation of far-reaching significance.

He sponsored the Securities and Exchange Commission bill, the Federal Communications Act, the Rayburn-Wheeler Holding Company Act with its "death sentence" clause and the Rural Electrification Act.

The dramatic power of his office was seldom as forcefully shown as when, in the twilight months before Pearl Harbor he saved virtually single-handedly, the Selective Service Act. House sentiment was running with that of the Nation against extension of the draft. Shortly before the roll call, the Speaker stepped down from the rostrum to speak for it. It squeaked through by a single vote—203 to 202. Before any member could change his mind, the Speaker banged his gavel and declared the result. Had the measure lost, a million men would have been discharged from the U.S. Army, whose strength then was just 1,400,000. The Japanese struck 4 months later.

He stands as a model for American youth of choosing early in life a goal for living, and living up to it. All that he became he worked for, from the early boyhood years of poverty when, he would later recall, he sometimes experienced "the loneliness that breaks men's heart."

He rose from humble beginnings to position surpassed in power only by the Presidency itself, and at times, was equal to that of the Chief Executive. He held it as a public trust and never departed from his devotion to duty.

Last June, when RAYBURN opened the House session, he had been Speaker twice as long as any man in history—16 years 273 days.

On that occasion, President Kennedy joined in the tribute of RAYBURN's congressional colleagues to write that service records may be measurable, but "immeasurable is your devotion to cause and country."

The President's words are now a fitting epitaph to SAM RAYBURN.

[From the Gastonia (N.C.) Gazette, Nov. 16, 1961]

A TRIBUTE TO SAM RAYBURN

SAM RAYBURN had the philosophy that it's better to die on your feet than to live on your knees.

If he believed in something, he fought for it until there was no hope. And then he kept on fighting.

It was like that when he died.

A weaker man would have given up many weeks ago. But Speaker SAM, hollowed out by the deadly knife of cancer, struggled just as valiantly with death as he had struggled with hundreds of opponents in the hardened art of Washington politics.

Men like SAM RAYBURN come along about once in a lifetime. This is not to say that Mr. RAYBURN was perfect. No man is. He might have had many shortcomings.

But, from what we have read and heard, here was a man who, once seeing what was the evident right, would turn in that direction and work with the determination of a bull to bring it about.

To gain the admiration and respect of both Democrat and Republican at once is no little accomplishment. Speaker SAM did.

He held to the belief that success is never final—and failure never fatal.

So he won his victories—was that the end?

So he lost some battles—was that the end?

Never.

When you have dedicated yourself to your country, there is never an end to the task of making it better, improving it for the next generation.

SAM RAYBURN is dead.

Although he would scoff at it, we mourn his passing.

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Mr. McINTIRE. The Bangor Daily News, the principal daily newspaper serving the Third Congressional District in Maine, expresses an ideal and appropriate tribute in an editorial appearing in a November 17, 1961, issue, an article which I submit:

MR. DEMOCRAT TAKEN BY DEATH

SAM RAYBURN's biography in the Congressional Directory contains only 14 lines. Of course, they do not begin to tell the story of his political greatness and his accomplishments in his long service to the country. Historians will write volumes about him.

This famed and personable Texan was a fixture in the House of Representatives for 48 years and its Speaker or minority leader for the last 21 years.

Presidents came and went. Various politicians came into prominence as Members of Congress, and then faded away. But SAM RAYBURN remained as an influential guiding hand; helping to steer the Nation through two World Wars, a depression and the cold war—until felled by cancer. He then returned to his beloved native State to die.

It is difficult to say what makes one man a leader and another not. But SAM RAYBURN had the confidence of those about him in Washington and of the American people. He was admired and respected by Republicans as well as Democrats.

A clue to his greatness may be found, perhaps, in his political philosophy, as described by himself.

"In politics," he once said, "you have to know how the people feel and what they are thinking. You have to learn to give and take. You must compromise if necessary. You have to work hard and keep in touch with your people. You have to have faith in the people because they are good and fair."

Perhaps the last sentence is the most significant. SAM RAYBURN believed in his fellow Americans. They, in turn, believed in him.

Mr. Democrat will be sorely missed by the Nation and the party he served so well and so long.

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Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to an editorial which appeared in the Flint Journal of Flint, Mich., on November 17, 1961, the day after Mr. RAYBURN's death.

The editorial follows:

AFFECTION FOR SAM RAYBURN CROSSED ALL PARTY LINES

SAM RAYBURN is dead at age 79 after devoting 48 years of his life in the service of his country.

As the Speaker of the House of Representatives for 17 years, he was established as a national institution. A dyed-in-the-wool Democrat, Mr. SAM earned the respect of Government heads from both sides of the political fence while wielding the House gavel twice as long as any of his predecessors.

"His public service stretched from the administration of Woodrow Wilson to the present day, but it was the quality of that service more than its length that was so distinctive," President Kennedy said in leading the Nation in mourning.

"The United States has lost a devoted servant and its citizens an unflinching friend."

Indeed, Mr. SAM, as he was referred to with reverence, established a record distinguished for far greater reasons than longevity. He exerted a singular influence on the House because of his personal integrity, his legislative knowledge, his political acumen and his ability to command.

He exercised more power than any other man in the House. In fact, it was said he was the second most powerful individual in our Government, second only to the President. Still his was, for the most part, an invisible power.

You can search the House records and not find his name on legislation. But he was a major force behind much of it. His speeches were few. He worked behind the scenes where he could work best in head-to-head talks—and in knocking heads together without public show or humiliation—since he had strong friends and admirers in both parties.

It is no exaggeration to say that he is irreplaceable as far as the Kennedy administration is concerned. His authority was built up over a long period, so that it was real, not nominal. Whoever is chosen to succeed him as Speaker will need time to establish a reputation for trustworthiness and fair-dealing, as well as to sharpen and prove his skill. This cannot be done overnight.

But the loss is not Mr. Kennedy's alone. The Nation can ill afford to lose such a tower of strength in its leadership. He worked hard for his beloved Democratic Party, but his zeal and devotion for his country was above political affiliation. His innate belief in the American people never faltered.

In a recent U.S. News & World Report interview, he was quoted as saying:

"I have absolute faith in the American people. I believe that more than 95 percent of them have more good in them than bad. And, when properly appealed to, they will respond—now as they have in the past."

The American people likewise had faith in the wisdom, leadership and political skill of Mr. SAM. His death is a tremendous loss to the country that he served so tirelessly for nearly half a century.

In the words of former President Eisenhower, "The title 'A Distinguished American' is rightfully his."

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Mr. JENNINGS. I include an editorial from the Bristol, Va., Herald-Courier, dated November 19, 1961. This newspaper serves both the nearby area of Tennessee where Mr. SAM was born and the adjoining area of Virginia:

HE SERVED BEST IN CHOSEN POST

SAM RAYBURN was no stranger to Bristol and the mountain empire of east Tennessee and southwest Virginia. He had been here with us on several occasions—all of them political and all of them designed to enhance the probability of victory for Democratic candidates.

On these trips into the hinterlands, which he made faithfully over half a century, Mr. SAM did little and said little to endear himself to the Republican Party. He was, as he often noted, a "Democrat, without suffix, without prefix, without apology." He did not pretend to be anything else.

But, perhaps more than any other Democrat of the 20th century, SAM RAYBURN had the respect, the admiration, the affection of his political opponents. They knew him as a just man, particularly when he sat—as he so often did—as Speaker of the House of Representatives.

This career of Mr. SAM's was of his own choosing and of his own making. He was satisfied with his position of power in the House and, as a consequence, in the Nation. Had he not been content, he woud have sought—and most certainly gained—higher office.

There are some who regret that SAM RAYBURN did not climb the ladder to the peak. But, in truth, his service to the country in the position he chose was of far greater value than it would have been in the White House, where tenants are short-lived and invariably retire when they leave the Nation's highest office.

There are too few men of SAM RAYBURN's caliber in public service—men who are dedicated to their profession, who are dedicated to the welfare of the men and women they represent, who serve steadfastly, giving themselves to the enormous tasks which confront national leaders in every area.

It was far, far better, then, to have SAM RAYBURN's services in Congress for half a century than it would have been to partake of them only briefly in the Presidency. As a Member of Congress, and as Speaker of the House longer than any other man in history, he gave our Government a sense of continuity which Presidents cannot give it. In so doing, SAM RAYBURN truly earned his place as one of the great men in American history.

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Mr. HULL. Mr. Speaker, of all the many tributes which have appeared concerning the late Speaker SAM RAYBURN, none has been more poignant than that written by a native of his beloved Bonham, Tex., the editor in chief of that excellent magazine, the Diplomat, Hope Ridings Miller.

Knowing that many Americans will appreciate this intimate insight into the character of Speaker RAYBURN, I include the article herewith:

AS THE EDITOR SEES IT

(By Hope Ridings Miller)

IN MEMORIAM: MR. SAM

"I feel as though a part of the Capitol has fallen down," said a tearful Washington cavedweller on the afternoon they laid

Speaker RAYBURN to rest in the sandy land of Willow Wild Cemetery near his Texas home.

She was expressing the thought of many mourners for the veteran legislator who served 48 years in Congress and was Speaker twice as long as any other man.

He had no instinct for personal publicity; no flair for projecting to strangers the kind of man he really was. Casual acquaintances often considered him just another conscientious public servant who lacked color and reached high rank through luck and seniority; a rather shy bachelor who sidestepped society as such because he felt out of place in it; an innately cautious politician with a mulish devotion to the Democratic Party; and a sometimes cantankerous character who barked and balked at photographers.

To those of us who really knew him, none of these labels were apt in the least. We understood him, we loved him, and we admired his complete lack of side, his level head, Texas twang, and homey turn of phrase—in a city seething with subterfuge and pretense. We knew something of the startling contrasts and vivid facets in the background to which he was true all the days of his life.

He called himself a Texan, and he was Texas at its best—even though he was born in a mud-chinked log cabin in Roane County, Tenn. When he was 5, his family moved to the 40-acre north Texas farm, where he and his three sisters and seven brothers grew up. (Like Sam Houston, SAM RAYBURN not only went to Texas from Tennessee, but he also had an unhappy marriage that lasted exactly as long as Houston's first—2 months 23 days.)

He never went on a congressional junket. In 1913 he was in a group of Representatives who sailed down to Panama. "But it wasn't a junket," he insisted. "We paid our own way. Since then, I've never had time to go abroad. You can't legislate and be a world traveler at the same time."

His Capital living habits, taste, and pleasures were in keeping with his simple background. For the past quarter of a century his Washington house was a modest, three-room hotel service apartment at the Anchorage, Connecticut Avenue at Q. The waiter who served his breakfast from the Pierre restaurant across the street also was his valet.

He often recalled impoverished years when he rang the class bells, swept floors and taught in a country school to earn his way through college. "I had only one suit in those days," he said not long ago. "It was frayed at the elbows by the time I graduated. I take pains with my clothes now. I appreciate 'em."

His conservative, carefully chosen suits and topcoats were of the best quality. Tailor made, too. "I can't buy my clothes off the rack," he would say, half apologetically. "Hand-me-downs don't fit. I'm too thick through the chest."

Yet he was no sartorial spendthrift. As late as the inaugural in 1957 he wore the same pair of striped trousers he purchased for the first inauguration he ever attended as a Member of Congress—that of Woodrow Wilson in 1913. He bought a new outfit for Kennedy's inauguration.

Like all unattached men who achieve high position in Washington, Mr. Sam was avalanched with social invitations, but he was one beachhead never captured by many Capital hostesses.

For almost a decade before the death of Evalyn Walsh McLean, he consistently declined her dinner bids. Not that he disliked the lady whose Hope diamond palpitated at some of the most lavish parties ever given in Washington. "She was all right," he said. "I went to some of her big dinners years ago, but I never felt she knew, or cared, whether I was there or not * * * so I stopped."

His aversion to "impersonal parties" accounted for the impression that he avoided society as much as possible. Actually, this natural, self-contained solon was the most gregarious of men. His bald dome bobbed happily at annual soirees at which Texas Representative and Mrs. Clark Thompson feted him. He beamed with a wholly new brightness at the first formal dinner given in his honor by Mrs. Perle Mesta, and periodically at repeat engagements for years thereafter. ("Perle hails from Oklahoma; she knows how to make us Texans feel at home," he said.) Year after year, he happily greeted shoals of friends, and even smiled at the barrage of photographers, at the Dale Millers' annual reception on his birthday.

He gave lots of parties, too; mostly, small buffet suppers at which guests dined on Texas beef or chili and tamales. Occasionally, at the home of friends (never in his own kitchenless apartment), he donned a chef's apron, and fried chicken for the whole company.

Although he was as beloved by colleagues as any man who ever served on Capitol Hill, he had his detractors. Some of us can remember when liberals called him a hopeless conservative, while conservatives, deploring his relentless struggle to battle administration bills through the House, labeled him a New Deal rubberstamp. During his final months in Washington—the toughest, in many ways, of his entire career as Speaker—he was at the height of prestige, having been elevated shortly after the inauguration to third in Government rank. Yet, to the last, critics mumbled about his slavish adherence to the White House and peccadilloes that in a man of less envied position would have been overlooked.

He loathed to be photographed when wearing his eyeglasses, and he deplored the way cameramen consistently caught him at unflattering angles or, as he said, "cluttered up the place with all their paraphernalia and blasting lights when you're trying to talk." He fumed when anybody kept him waiting, for promptness was a fetish with him. He was impatient with global thinkers who aired ideologies he considered a threat to the democratic way of life.

For example, at an Embassy dinner last spring, he showed his displeasure when an American pundit over after-dinner coffee expounded on the remarkable achievements of Red China. Mr. SAM heard him out; then, with characteristic dignity, he stood up and observed in measured tones, "Anybody who feels that way about Red China ought to go there and live."

Mr. SAM's inflexible stand against televising House committee hearings led to the rumor he could not abide TV because it was a newfangled contraption. Actually, he doted on television; watched baseball games and newscasts regularly; slipped away from parties early in order to see a favorite program; and was rather proud of two or three TV interviews-in-depth on which he starred. His expressed reason for his unalterable opposition to televising House hearings: "When a man has to run for reelection every 2 years, the temptation to make headlines—any headlines—is strong enough * * * without giving him a chance to become an actor on television. The normal processes toward good law are not even dramatic, let alone sensational enough to be aired across the land."

Mr. SAM had an inviolate dignity that forbade probing into certain secret recesses of his life. Most Washingtonians thought of him as a bachelor. Not more than half a dozen of his intimates know anything about his marriage in 1927 or why the union was dissolved so quickly. But the experience did not embitter him. He was avidly interested in the romances of his friends; delighted when they married. He adored youngsters.

His interest in his friends' children sometimes predated their birth. Vice President Lyndon Johnson was a Member of the House when he confided to the Speaker that the stork was scheduled for a second visit to the Johnson home. Mr. SAM proffered congratulations, and then inquired about the arrival date.

"Oh, about 6 months from now," Johnson replied.

With evident concern, RAYBURN asked, "What about your wife? Is she all right?" Not waiting for a reply, he said, "Go call her, this minute, and see how she's feeling."

From then on until Lucy Baines was born, Johnson recalls, Mr. Sam never saw without ordering him to the telephone to get an up-to-the-minute report on Lady Bird.

Mr. Sam could be tightlipped about his own personal life, but he was voluble about the House and the men who comprised it. The last time I talked with him, I asked if he was worried about the inroads of Communists within our country. "No," he answered thoughtfully, "Communists should be watched, of course, but not worried about. Throughout all my years in Congress, I haven't known more than three legislators who could be suspected of being Communists or serving the purposes of communism. And, since Congress is a most reliable cross section of America, I'm not going to be worried."

He went on to talk about the House as "the finest legislative body in the world," and added, "Men in the House are not supermen, of course. They're patriotic, average men, with average commonsense, and that's good enough. It's the greatest privilege on earth to be their Speaker * * * for I, too, am just an average man; no better, I know, and no worse, I hope, than other average Americans."

George Donovan, chauffeur to the Speaker for years, once said of Mr. Sam, "There may be a few men as good, but there's none his better. He was just what he was—and that was all there was to it."

He was just what he was. A gentleman, who sometimes hid the kindest of hearts under a bushel of brusqueness; a distinguished statesman, as impervious to aggrandizement and as incapable of pretense as if he never left his Fannin County, Tex., home.

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Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend to the attention of the membership of this body, two editorials from the Milwaukee newspapers. The editorials follow:

[From the Milwaukee Journal, Nov. 18, 1961]

Mr. Sam

Sam Rayburn was of the old frontier.

He was born near Kingston, Tenn., in 1882. When he was 5, his family moved to Texas and settled near Bonham. He knew the wind of the prairie, the bitter cold, the desolation, and the loneliness.

SAM RAYBURN

After 6 years in the Texas Legislature, at the beginning of Woodrow Wilson's administration in 1913, Mr. SAM took his seat in the House of Representatives. He served without interruption through the administrations of Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, and into Kennedy's, a period that covered more than a quarter of the present lifespan of the House.

Mr. SAM became Speaker of the House at the age of 58 in 1940. Early in 1951, he passed the record for a Speaker's service set by Henry Clay more than a century before. When the House opened its session last June, Mr. SAM had been Speaker twice as long as Clay.

How can his contribution be assessed?

Consider the diversity, as a nation, of our origins; the variety of our cultures, our creeds, and our races; the disparity in our circumstances and our needs, the complexity of our interests, both personal and regional. Somewhere, if terrible divisions are not to destroy our free Republic, there must be compromises made and a workable consensus achieved. The place where that is done is in our political system, and nowhere in it is the focus of conflict sharper than the House, where often narrow sectional or group interests are articulated and the crucial power to initiate revenue-raising measures lies.

Mr. SAM's talent as Speaker was not for flamboyance or rhetoric. He specialized in getting things done, sometimes under difficult circumstances. He preferred to work quietly in the background and to avoid doing injury to the institutions or Members of the House. His methods sometimes frustrated more liberal and impatient men, but politics is the art of the possible and Mr. SAM was its master. He made the Speaker's job into one second in importance only to the President's.

Mr. SAM revered the House as it revered him. He was a partisan man, not a neuter. He was a plain, sensible man, skilled in the art of government. He did not make many speeches, although when he made one, the House listened closely. He had no store of small talk and not much patience for it. His scowl was forbidding. But those who got to know him found him warm and on occasion sentimental.

Mr. SAM left the country only once, but no man could call him insular.

Mr. SAM was one of the last of his breed of frontier politicians, close to the land and its institutions. At their best—and Mr. SAM was of their very best—they were great men who built a great Nation.

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel, Nov. 17, 1961]

As We See It: Mr. Sam

Sam Rayburn was a great pro in the tough game of politics. He was a great legislative strategist. He was a great Democrat.

But above all these, he was a great American.

Mr. Sam he was called, and how well that exemplifies the regard in which he was held. Not just Sam. That was too intimate. Not Mr. Rayburn. That was too formal. Mr. Sam exactly expresses affection and respect.

And it is with affection and respect that we of the Hearst newspapers pay tribute to service and his fierce loyalty to his country, and bid him our sad farewell.

It is of course a truism that Mr. Sam was one of the most powerful influences in Government outside the White House in the long years he presided as Speaker of the House. He was Speaker more than twice as long as any other man in our history, and he was unquestionably right in saying he served "with" Presidents, not "under" them.

He could be tough when it was necessary. He was a master parliamentarian. But Mr. Sam never permitted himself to be cemented in his own point of view. If he were convinced that changing conditions demanded it, he would change his position accordingly, openly and without niggling equivocation.

"Be reasonable. Be fair," he would say to neophyte Congressmen.

Mr. Sam was always reasonable. He was always fair.

We join our fellow Americans in their sorrow at his passing.

The needs of our political system—and we are sure Mr. Sam would agree—call for the naming of a successor as soon as possible after Congress convenes in January.

It is our belief there is no one better fitted or more deserving than Representative John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts.

McCormack has been Democratic floor leader 17 years, longer than any other man. He served as Speaker pro tem during Mr. Sam's absence in the closing weeks of the past session.

He, too, is a tested and loyal American. He has the respect both of fellow Democrats and Republicans.

On the basis of experience, length of service, intelligence and leadership, McCormack merits the speakership.

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Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, many wonderful tributes have been written in memory of the immortal Sam Rayburn since his death. I have read none which impressed me more than that from the pen of Chan Guffey, editor of the Prague (Okla.) News-Record, on November 22, 1961, which follows:

GUFFEY'S CORNER

I hereby propose the formation of a SAM RAYBURN Society. The country needs one.

SAM RAYBURN was a political giant.

When he died last week the President of the United States, two former Presidents, the Vice President, 25 Senators, and 120 Congressmen gathered in the Texas town of Bonham for his funeral.

SAM RAYBURN was Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives and had held the office twice as long as any other man. He had passed Henry Clay's record years ago.

He was known as Mr. Democrat. He was one of the most politically powerful men in the United States and had been for decades.

SAM RAYBURN in politics was like the towering redwoods of California—phenomenal. But to exclaim simply over height or power and turn away without pondering how giants are grown is to remain simple.

SAM RAYBURN was a practicing politician.

He knew that the art of the possible is politics and that politics is the art of government. He knew that there can be no government without politics and good government can be attained only after passing through politics—through and beyond, but through.

He knew that democratic government is a delicate mechanism that most one-issue reformers would wreck in their clumsy passion.

He knew that pressure and compromise are equal tools in politics and that timing may often be more important than either.

The man from Texas learned these things, mastered the techniques and spent a lifetime making government work.

Like the redwoods, SAM RAYBURN grew under special conditions. The soil was right and so was the climate.

When he died he had served in Congress longer than any man in history. He served for 48 years. Forty-eight years means 24 terms and 24 terms means 24 elections in the Fourth Congressional District of Texas.

To say that he won 24 elections is to mask the importance of political climate—the mind of the citizen.

Prairie-fire excitement or change for change's sake did not sweep the minds of Fourth District voters and destroy the unglamorous greatness of SAM RAYBURN.

The voters in the Fourth Congressional District were steady in their judgment. They gave him time to grow in the legislative forest.

The society that I propose in honor of SAM RAYBURN would be dedicated to the study and appreciation of level-headed, working politicians.

It would underscore the need and importance of political skills, particularly in the legislative area.

It would lay the groundwork for a public understanding of these skills by honoring men who practice them.

The country needs a SAM RAYBURN point of view almost as badly as it needed SAM RAYBURN.

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Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, on this sad day, when we pay tribute to our late distinguished and beloved Speaker SAM RAYBURN I include the following editorial, written by my good friend, Mr. A. S. Barksdaer, Jr., of Bluefield, W. Va., which was published in the Sunset News-Observer, of Bluefield, on Saturday afternoon, November 18, 1961:

SAM RAYBURN

Thousands of words have been written about SAM RAYBURN, who is being buried this afternoon in a little town in Texas.

We can add only this thought to the expressions of love and tribute for this fine and dedicated man: it is devoted service such as his that has made America the Nation it is and that holds our greatest hope for the survival of human dignity and freedom.

What a contrast in his life and work with, for example, a Khrushchev. If one would know the difference between the United States and the U.S.S.R., one need look no further than Mr. SAM and Mr. K.

Mr. SAM made his way to the top, and to one of the most responsible positions in the world, because he knew and loved and practiced the democratic political way—democratic with a small "d" even more than with a capital "D." He earned respect and admiration, even from his political antagonists, and he earned the enduring thanks of his people for his uncommon ability to attain solid legislative accomplishments through the give and take of democratic processes * * * the Russian got to the top by relentlessly crushing his opposition, by suffocating the rights and needs of minorities, by terrorism and fear. The difference between two men is the difference between two nations. America is the land we know and love because of the devotion to principles and ideals and the unselfish service of men like SAM RAYBURN.

We watched him in the House of Representatives, heard him on the political platform, talked to many who knew him intimately, and our personal verdict was the same as that of so many others. He was, indeed, one of his country's great men.

We are proud of the fact he was a Democrat, prouder still of the fact that he put his country far above partisanship. In his life is a lesson for all who would serve the people. Few can ever match him, but all can profit by his example.

Sam Rayburn was a statesman. The Nation and the free world have lost a pillar of strength.

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Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I feel it is most appropriate on this occasion to call attention to an exchange of letters between Mrs. Florence Rose and Mr. Bert Hodges which appeared in the Okmulgee Daily Times shortly after the death of Speaker Sam Rayburn.

I think we will all agree with the conclusion reached by both writers in this instance—America has not lost Sam Rayburn. Like Lincoln, now he belongs to the ages.

The full text of the tribute paid to Speaker Rayburn follows:

[From the Okmulgee Daily Times, Nov. 23, 1961]

Mr. Sam Is Really Not Lost

Dear Editor: The letters of commemoration from Bert Hodges are good things—for the community to read, for him to write, and for the Times to publish.

The one regarding Mr. Rayburn—Mr. Sam—was especially timely and well written but may I say the writer himself will probably agree that America and the world has not really lost that great citizen, nor ever will. The words spoken of Lincoln when he died surely apply to Sam Rayburn: "Now he belongs to the ages."

We first became truly conscious of the statesmanlike quality of the Speaker of the House during the first televised Democratic Convention—and wished aloud that he might be President—yet now our feelings are that no President ever served the country better than the man who went to Washington's lower House of Congress and stayed there.

No, Mr. Hodges. America has not lost Sam Rayburn. Your own letter attests to that. The future will surely prove it. Death well may be the exclamation point that emphasizes any life.

Sincerely,

Florence Rose.

[From the Okmulgee Daily Times, Nov. 30, 1961]

MR. RAYBURN WAS NOT LOST

Mrs. Florence Rose was right when she said that Mr. SAM RAYBURN was not lost to the world by his passing. I thank her for reminding me, in her well written letter to the Times, that in reality, the great statesman from Texas will live on, as has Abraham Lincoln who belongs to the ages.

It was Edwin Stanton, Secretary of War in Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet who made that statement concerning the great Emancipator at the time of his death.

However, Mr. SAM's leadership in the Halls of Congress is lost, and it will be years, if at all, that a man of his experience and ability may be trained to do the job he has done so well for so long a period.

When Congress meets again, after the recess, there will be memorial addresses in a session to pay proper homage to the man they have loved, regardless of political differences, and it is my hope that somewhere in those solemn proceedings when Mr. SAM's name is being spread across the minds of men and over the pages of the Washington records, as another one of America's immortals, that Mrs. Rose will be recognized as having been the first to submit his name with that of Abraham Lincoln as being also a great American patriot who belongs to the ages.

BERT HODGES.

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Mr. ROONEY. On November 16, last, the editorial page of the Washington Daily News, in a tribute to Speaker RAYBURN, had this to say about him:

Probably the best way to distinguish Speaker SAM RAYBURN from his contemporaries is simply to cite the name by which he was respectfully and universally known—"Mr. SAM."

Mr. SAM died early today. He had been a Member of Congress longer than anybody else. He had been Speaker of the House longer than anybody else—more than twice as long. He had been a power in the Government for 25 years. He was an institution, the same as the Capitol Building, or the Lincoln Memorial.

But when people spoke of Mr. SAM they spoke of more than this remarkable record. They spoke of a sometimes irascible politician, who also was a dedicated public official. They spoke of a grumpy, curt old man, who also had the humor and sprightliness of a carefree blade. They spoke of a flinty ruler of his domain, who under the crust was much more a realistic conciliator, a maker of agreement.

Mr. SAM's mannerisms belied his mellow nature. For essentially he was a man of sentiment. He had an immense capacity for loyalty and an eternal devotion to the career he made for himself. He was a fierce defender of the Congress, and an unflinching partisan. He was a man who spoke his mind sharply, without quibble or mere nicety.

Yet Mr. SAM was ever the gentleman. His sense of propriety and good taste was well cultivated. His courtesy and fairness were plain to see under that veneer of crustiness.

Mr. SAM, more than anything, was a believer. He believed in the American system of government. He believed in liberty and freedom and personal dignity. He believed in people and in the ultimate good wisdom of the people.

"It is an honor," he said, "to be elected to anything by the people."

And he never forgot that.

He built his own monument, the Sam Rayburn Library, in his beloved hometown, Bonham, Tex.

It was intended as a monument to Congress. Here would be books and documents telling of the men who had made the story of Congress.

"The way to study history," he once said, "is to read the lives of men."

There is a great sweep of history in the life of SAM RAYBURN and this will live on.

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Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include a moving tribute to the late Speaker RAYBURN by Msgr. Joseph P. Kiefer from the Steubenville (Ohio) Register:

[From the Steubenville (Ohio) Register, Nov. 23, 1961]

AMERICA WILL MISS YOU, MR. SAM

The Halls of Congress in Washington will never be quite the same without the presence of SAM RAYBURN, affectionately known as Mr. Democrat.

This beloved veteran of legislative and political wars has been around a long time on Capitol Hill—48 years, to be exact. This is the longest period of time ever served by a Member of the House or Senate. Sixteen years of those 48 were spent as Speaker of the House, also a record, surpassing the previous high of Henry Clay (8 years) of a century ago.

Mr. RAYBURN's almost five decades as Representative of his district in the Congressional Chambers is a testimonial of the affection felt for him by his constituents and their faith in him as a man who was doing a perennially fine job for them and for the country.

Mr. SAM, as his associates liked to call him, was held in highest respect by all his colleagues, even by those who differed with him on political issues. He was the strong voice of the Democratic Party, the confidant of four Presidents, the man who, more than any other, had the influence to push through legislation when the administration's cause seemed to be lost.

Born in eastern Tennessee in a family of 11 children, he knew firsthand the hard knocks of poverty and sacrifice. Perhaps that is why he was always so sympathetic to the problems of the common man and the underprivileged.

His was a determination that brooked no failure. Already at the age of 10 he had his mind made up that he would someday serve in the House of Representatives and become its Speaker. He was sent to Washington by the voters in his Texas district when he was 30 years old. Ten years later he was elected Speaker of the House. At the age of 79, with cancer ravaging his body, he remained at his post until it was physically impossible for him to continue.

If he backed a candidate for the Presidency, he fought with all his might for that man's nomination and election. When his candidate was unsuccessful, RAYBURN worked equally hard for the victor.

This was exemplified last year when Mr. SAM put all his efforts behind the nomination of his fellow Texan, Lyndon Johnson. When John F. Kennedy was chosen to carry the party standard, RAYBURN worked with equal vigor for the Democratic nominee's election, winning many votes that otherwise might have been lost because of the religious issue.

Since then, any success that the President has had in securing enactment of his legislation must be attributed in great part to the prestige and drive of the Speaker of the House.

Mr. RAYBURN was a religious man—a dyed-in-the-wool Baptist—who lived according to the Golden Rule. He firmly believed that prejudice of any kind had no place in the American way of life. Although a Protestant, he fought for the right of Catholics, Jews, pagans, or agnostics to follow their conscience. Although a Democrat through and through, he joined hands with Republicans when his country's welfare was at stake.

When he was a little boy, SAM RAYBURN had these words of his father engraved on his mind: "I have no money to give you. I can only give you character." No one will deny that the deceased Speaker of the House inherited that character and bore it nobly throughout a long lifetime.

As RAYBURN, at the age of 24, was about to depart for his first trip to the Texas Legislature, his father had only one message of advice: "Be a man."

Mr. SAM was every bit a man in private life, in political combat, in the company of opponents or friends. He never forgot his father's sage advice.

During the two World Wars and the Korean war he was one of the strong men on Capitol Hill guiding the destinies of our Nation. In the cold war of nerves contrived by the Communists he remained steady and calm. During the boom of economic prosperity and during the shaky years of depression, he was always the same stalwart giant while others around him were being tossed in the whirlpools of indecision.

Mr. SAM will be missed. Would that we had many more Americans like him.

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Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the Catholic War Veterans of the United States of America have written me a letter containing a resolution in tribute to SAM RAYBURN, of Texas, Speaker of the House of Representatives, whose death was mourned nationally.

The tribute is a moving one; and knowing the respect and admiration felt for Speaker RAYBURN in both Houses of Congress and throughout the United States, I believe the letter should be placed in the National Archives of our country.

Mr. President, nothing better illustrates the esteem in which SAM RAYBURN was held and the broad sympathy and fairness to all parts of the country on the part of Mr. SAM, a member of the Baptist Church, than this wonderful tribute which has been received from the Catholic War Veterans of the United States. It indicates the unity of all our people in their desire for better government in our country.

In their tribute they state:

> Whereas Mr. SAM, as called by his friends, was a friend of Catholic War Veterans, and an advocate of their cause, and friend of all veterans: Now, therefore, be it
>
> *Resolved,* That the Catholic War Veterans pay tribute to Mr. SAM, and that a special prayer be said for the repose of his soul; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the House of Representatives of the United States, the Senate of the United States, and to the Sam Rayburn Memorial Library, of Bonham, Tex.

And to others.

In the resolution it is also stated that—

Whereas in the passing of SAM RAYBURN, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, our country has lost a great advocate on the American way of life; and

Whereas a loss to our country is a loss to the Catholic War Veterans.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the entire resolution be printed, as follows:

CATHOLIC WAR VETERANS,
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, D.C., February 27, 1962.

Senator RALPH W. YARBOROUGH,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR YARBOROUGH: I am happy to forward to you the following resolution passed at a recent meeting of the national board of officers of the Catholic War Veterans of the United States of America:

"Whereas in the passing of SAM RAYBURN, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, our country lost a great advocate of the American way of life; and

"Whereas a loss to our country is a loss to the Catholic War Veterans; and

"Whereas Mr. SAM, as called by his friends, was a friend of Catholic War Veterans, and an advocate of their cause and friend of all veterans: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Catholic War Veterans pay tribute to Mr. SAM, and that a special prayer be said for the repose of his soul; and be it further

"*Resolved,* That a copy of this resolution be sent to the House of Representatives of the United States, the Senate, and to the Sam Rayburn Memorial Library, of Bonham, Tex., to the Texas delegation in our Congress, and to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, Vice President of the United States, and that this meeting adjourn in his memory."

I know that sentiments expressed in this resolution are those of our entire membership throughout the country.

Respectfully yours,

JAMES W. HAFEY,
Executive Director.

SAM RAYBURN

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include a series of articles from the Atlanta Journal:

MR. SAM—PART I

(By Jesse Laventhol)

(NOTE.—SAM RAYBURN will long be remembered as one of the best-beloved politicians—and among the most astute—in American history. His life story is an inspiration to young men and old, and his career in the House of Representatives is important to an understanding of the events of the last half century.)

Here is the first of eight articles on Mr. SAM's life—from his days on an off-the-road Texas farm to his years of great power as Speaker of the House. The author, a veteran newspaperman, is now executive assistant in the Office of Coordinator of Information for the U.S. House of Representatives, a job that brought him into frequent and close contact with Mr. SAM.

North Texas land leaves its mark on the people who work it. In the 1880's not many had the fortitude to try to wrest a livelihood where winters were harsh and blistering summers caked the soil or brought the rain in floods.

But one who did was William Marion Rayburn, a veteran of the Confederate Army. He had gone, a volunteer at 18, to 4 years of heart-searing war with Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest's cavalry and had witnessed the surrender of Gen. Robert E. Lee at Appomattox.

He came home to the family farm, to which he was heir—home to the Clinch River Valley of Roane County in the mountainous east Tennessee—to find the place in ruins. Roving bands of guerrillas had pillaged the house and ravaged the earth. They were bushwhackers, loyal to neither North nor South, only to the loot they could gain. The main prey of their marauding forays were defenseless households of women, children, or old folks.

Former cavalryman Rayburn undertook the task of restoring the homestead to its former comfort and the soil to its once rich yield of corn crops. Under these adverse circumstances he also had the courage to get married.

The young woman he courted and wed was Martha Waller, of a neighboring farm family. Like himself, she was of Scot ancestry and both came of a rugged breed of Calvinists who, over the centuries past, had found it necessary to fight to defend their religion and their homes in the granite highlands of Scotland.

Their family flourished but their fortunes did not. Ten children were born to this union before the Rayburns gave up the losing struggle, sold the farm for what they could get, and, with an itinerant uncle, headed southwest for Texas, where, later, an 11th child was born.

William Rayburn was 47 years old when in 1887 he bought 40 acres with a small framehouse and settled with his large brood and their few possessions on a belt of black land at Flag Springs, near Windom, in Fannin County, Tex. Here the battle against poverty was renewed.

This was cotton country and corn farmer Rayburn knew little of raising cotton. Nevertheless all hands pitched in laboring from sunup to after sundown, each to his own chores. There was everything to be done in setting up a new place and getting it going. Even chunky little Sam, then but 5 years old, did his share.

But that first summer was nearly disastrous, even though the price paid for cotton had risen to 9 cents per pound. Two and a half bales of their crop yield was all the Rayburns could sell; the rest was ruined by damp weather that year. They scrimped and managed to have barely enough to eat, and so they got by.

Sam was always a little fellow. He never did grow beyond 5 feet 6. But labor on the farm hardened his muscles and developed his physique. He grew to be sturdy, stocky, and energetic. Like most country boys he went barefoot most of his early summers, learned to ride a horse bareback.

In the early years of the one-room rural school at Flag Springs he had what fun there was to be had in the isolation of this back-country community, joining his fellow pupils or playing with his brothers and sisters when there was time—which wasn't often.

Ed White, a companion of that day, born and bred in Flag Springs, recalls:

"We had about 100 boys and girls in 1 room at that time but the teacher, Mr. [Charles C.] Farley managed to keep order. He had a stack of good bois d'arc switches in the corner and he knew how to use them.

"I don't remember now whether Sam ever had to have one used on him or not, as he was a pretty well-behaved boy and always knew his lessons. We also had the bumping block. These were the heavy, wooden blocks on which the women would climb to mount their horses, and when the boys felt that another one needed a bit of punishment, four or five would catch him and bump him against the block.

"I don't know if Sam ever got bumped, but I expect he did, as just about every boy around got bumped at one time or another.

"Sam was a pretty good baseball player. I think he was an outfielder, but his older brothers, Tom and Dick, were pitchers. Sam was a hard worker and, like all the rest of us boys, didn't have too much time to play. But whenever he could he enjoyed getting out to go swimming, hunting, or to play 'stinkbase' with the rest of us."

This was a game, White explained, in which the boys chose sides. A player would "make a dare" by venturing toward the other side, and if he was caught he would be put on the "stinkbase" and have to stay there until rescued by teammates. (In the author's day—in the effete East—this game was called prisoner's base).

"SAM was a good mixer and always ready to help a neighbor," White went on, "I recall that one day he and I put in a full day's work helping to work out the crop of a woman whose husband had died only a short time before. He did as much work as any man in the field that day."

George W. Payne, another native of Flag Springs and schoolmate, reminisced on those boyhood years:

"SAM was a pretty good hand in the field at any job his dad gave him whether it was plowing, hoeing, or harvesting. We had all 'walking equipment' then and a boy had to be pretty strong to keep up with the mules pulling the plow, and to do the other work he had to do.

"I guess that's one reason SAM could stand up under the work of politics as well as he did.

"SAM did just about everything we did and was a pretty smart boy, too. SAM was always smart. In the spelling bees he was usually the winner or one of the last to get spelled down.

"Of course we didn't study all the things they do in school today, but SAM always knew the answers to any question on any of our subjects that Mr. Farley would ask him. There were no chairs or desks in the first school we had here. We all sat on long benches, about 10 or 12 of us to the bench, and there wasn't much running around during classes.

"When he had the time SAM would come out on Sundays and ride calves with us or in the winter we would go rabbit hunting when the snow was on the ground and we could track them with our dogs. In the summer we had a couple of swimming holes, called buck hole and doe hole because deer came there for water."

These were the moments of happiness snatched from a boyhood that was a routine of poverty, hardship, and above all, loneliness.

Years later, at a little gathering in his apartment in Washington, he was stirred by a guest's remark that on a tour of farm areas he had found the farmers all seemed to be well supplied with cars.

"Listen," he said, "when I was growing up back in Flag Springs the worst thing about the life was being lonely. Loneliness can kill a man. Many was the night I'd go off alone and sit on the fence, and look at the sky and stars and look up and down the road and just wish to God that somebody—some neighbor, some stranger, anybody—would come by. I'm glad farmers now have the means to get around, meet their friends, and drive to other cities. I think it's wonderful. They're not lonely any more."

This man, with boyhood memories of the sticky gumbo of the rain-churned black soil, who studied by kerosene lamplight, and watched his mother slave over an iron pot wood fire to cook and wash for her large family, took the farmers out of the mud, and made their lives easier all over America.

But that satisfaction lay a long time ahead.

SAM, perhaps because of his loneliness, threw himself into the world of books, particularly history. He devoured every volume he could find about Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Adams, and other early leaders of the Nation. And in the pages of the Memphis Commercial Appeal and the Louisville Courier-Journal, to which his father subscribed whenever he could afford them, SAM read of the postwar political personages and happenings.

His father's occasional angry denunciations of the Yankees coincided with the news of events described in these papers, which espoused the southern cause and devoted much space to national politics. SAM's curiosity on the subject was insatiable.

An event of his boyhood that fixed his ambition forever and determined the course of his life was a political rally. In later life, reminiscing on the subject, he said he couldn't fix the date because "it's too far back." But the principal actor in the episode, a man who immediately became SAM's hero, was Joseph Weldon Bailey.

Records show that Bailey, Democratic leader of Gainesville and an elector on the Cleveland-Thurman ticket of 1888, was elected to Congress from the Fourth District of Texas in 1891, was reelected for three more terms and ultimately became U.S. Senator.

SAM was about 12 years old when this most distinguished political orator of the area, and candidate for reelection to Congress, was advertised to appear at the fairgrounds at Bonham, the county seat. The boy was in a dither of anticipation.

But the morning of the great event his two older brothers had gotten their father's permission to go before SAM had a chance to do so. He was stuck that day with the chore of hauling in firewood. From the high seat of the wagon, in which he was to bring loads of cut logs from the woodlot to the house, he watched his brothers gaily gallop off to town. He saw to his chores through a blur of bitter tears.

In the course of their report at the breakfast table next morning on the excited doings in Bonham they let drop that local leaders had persuaded the great man Bailey to deliver a repeat performance that day. This time SAM didn't wait for anything. Without finishing breakfast he jumped from his chair, ran out of the house, stopped at the pump to wash his feet, saddled a pony, and rode off.

It was raining. The road was muddy and it was 11 miles to Bonham, but the boy rode on in high excitement. In the 5 years since they had moved to the Texas farm SAM had never been to the county seat.

When he arrived, he saw the townsfolk and visitors arrayed in their best store-bought clothes. Without shoes and in rain-bedraggled shirt and pants—somewhat mud-spattered, too, since he had whipped the horse to arrive on time—the lad was too mortified to go in through the main entrance to the Tabernacle, as the place was called. It was a floor with a roof, usually open for the evangelistic revival meetings held there.

Because of the rain this day its sides were enclosed by canvas, like a circus tent. SAM found an open flap and slipped in unnoticed. All attention was centered upon the striking figure in handsome clothes and black flowing tie. Bailey orated for 2 solid hours while the boy stood entranced by the flow of eloquence, "with rain running down my neck from the edge of the roof," Mr. SAM related later.

When it was all over, he hurried around front to see the Congressman emerge, surrounded by admirers escorting him five or six blocks to the streetcar line—with little SAM running behind, in vain hope of greeting his idol.

As he rode home, still entranced, the boy wondered if he would ever be as big a man as Joe Bailey, and then and there he vowed that one day he would be not only a Member of the House of Representatives, but its Speaker.

Incidentally, Bailey was reelected that year (1893) to his second term. And by strange coincidence his career in Washington ended, by his resignation from the Senate January 3, 1913, the same year that SAM RAYBURN's began there, on March 4.

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MR. SAM—PART II

The first summer of the 20th century, long and hot, was in its waning months. SAM RAYBURN, now 18, had come to a realization months before that to make his dream of a political career come true he needed more education—much more. He had already absorbed all that the public schools of Fannin County in north Texas could offer.

He wanted to go to college. Yet he knew only too well the straitened financial circumstances in which his father was operating the farm.

As they labored and sweated together, chopping cotton under the broiling August sun, SAM also recalled his father's customary admonition to all his sons:

"Character is all I have to give you. Be a man."

But the youth spoke up and asked if he could go to college.

"SAM," he said sadly, "you know I'd like for you to go. But how can I send you with only 40 acres in the farm and 14 people in the house to feed?"

SAM gulped and answered:

"I didn't ask you to send me, Paw, I asked if you would let me go. I figure I can work my way."

And thus it was settled.

When it came time for SAM to go off to Mayo Normal College at Commerce, Tex., his father rode with him to the railroad station. His parting handshake pressed into SAM's palm $25—the total cash assets of the farm, and the paternal goodby was the words, again, "Be a man, Son."

Mayo's was a private institution operated by an earnest pedagogue who founded it to fill a void in higher education facilities for the farm families of the area. It was later absorbed into the State system as East Texas State College.

Prof. William Leonidas Mayo was sympathetic to the plight of the applicant from Flag Springs whose desire to learn far exceeded his ability to meet the tuition fee. He helped SAM find some of his numerous jobs which included ringing the college bell, sweeping out the public school of Commerce, making and tending fires in the college and the school—plus any other jobs that came along. For performing these various tasks SAM earned an average of $8 a month.

SAM paid a deposit on his tuition, got his board on credit. His earnings paid for washing and ironing his clothes. After his first year at college he taught in a rural, one-room school for a year, to help pay off his debts.

He returned to college for another year, working harder than ever. He completed the 3-year course in 2 years.

A half century later he expressed to friends his lifetime gratitude to Professor Mayo, not only for his encouragement and considerate treatment, but for his method of instilling learning and the desire for it.

"During the morning exercises," said Mr. SAM, "he was the most inspiring man I ever knew. He made a student feel like a criminal if he didn't work, and not only that but to work to his utmost capacity."

It was a habit the pupil never lost.

The proud possessor of a diploma certifying that he had earned the degree of bachelor of science in education, SAM returned home and to teaching as a regular vocation.

He taught for 2 years in the rural schools of Fannin County. But the day he happened to learn that members of the State legislature are paid $5 a day for their services to the State he decided upon a definite course of action. Five dollars a day was then a munificent sum. It could pay his way through the law school of the University of Texas which, conveniently to his purpose, was located in Austin, the State capital.

That is to say, it could—if he got elected.

So, in 1906, at the age of 24, he ran for the office of State representative from Fannin County. He was without experience in politics, but he had taught school in several areas of the county and thus was known by name to the parents of his pupils. What's more, he was a handsome and personable young man.

On his cow pony he campaigned for 3 months, visiting every town and village, calling at every farmhouse, no matter how remote. His dimpled smile charmed the housewives, many of whom discussed the progress of their children at school. The men were impressed by his down to earth, knowledgeable talk of local farm conditions. Some had heard of the big, hard-working, and religious Rayburn family.

He won: By 163 votes. To this day, the name of the Honorable Sam Gardiner of Honey Grove, his opponent, is remembered as the man whose defeat started SAM RAYBURN on the path to national greatness.

This first victory was as sweet to SAM as the honey he ate daily with his breakfast. But more than that it was the beginning of 54 years as a public servant during which he developed a political wisdom and a principled philosophy.

For instance, a friend came to SAM in the heat of the campaign and said: "I want to vote for you but I'm planning to run for county prosecutor and the fellow you're running against has a lot of power in my district and I will need his support. What would you advise me to do?"

"I told my friend," said SAM, recounting the incident, "to go ahead and vote for the other fellow, as I was going to win anyway."

This policy of refusing to bring pressure to get a man to vote against his own interest was to pay off handsomely later in Congress.

"Things even out in the long run," the Speaker said recently in reviewing his career. "You may lose a vote one time, but you will get it back again when you need it more."

Any legislative body is a tough training ground for the political man; a test of his character and abilities. It could also be, and often was for many, a burial place of hopes for future higher office.

In the imposing red granite State capitol at Austin, SAM RAYBURN had his first contact with a legislative body. If the country boy was overawed by this new experience, in a big city, he kept it to himself.

He found a place of lodging convenient to both the capitol and the University of Texas. He registered at its law school, learned the hours of classes in the various subjects and worked out a tentative schedule.

As it later turned out, while he studied many nights, even during the biennial sessions of the legislature, most of his law school classwork was done between sessions which usually lasted no more than 6 months. But they were hectic and sometimes boisterous.

The membership was a cross section of a State emerging from the pioneer era. A rugged and hearty crew, cattlemen from the ranches in the south and west, farmers from the wheat, sheep, and goat farms in the west and northwest, and from the cotton farms of the central and eastern sections.

There were, too, the "city slickers" from the larger centers of population, Houston and Dallas—and the "wildcatters" from the burgeoning oil fields.

The railroads were fighting against State regulatory measures; electric utilities were seeking for power sites the waters that farmers needed for irrigation or stock watering.

This was the background scene of the 30th session of the Texas Legislature upon which SAM RAYBURN entered.

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MR. SAM: NO. 3

(By Jesse Laventhol)

WASHINGTON, November 18.—As a minor figure in the cast, SAM RAYBURN played little part in the drama of the Texas Legislature at Austin in his first session in 1907.

He was content merely to get acquainted, make friends and try to "learn the ropes." Of the more experienced members, only a few could or would take the time to guide this quiet but eager black-haired freshman through the factional political maze. One of these was Sam Ealy Johnson, of Stonewall, Gillespie County.

The younger SAM's gratitude for his attention was expressed in deed in later life as he lent a similar helping hand in Washington to his mentor's son, Lyndon Baines Johnson, then yet unborn.

Later, in his second and third terms, with knowledge gained by experience and in his law studies—he was admitted to the bar in 1908—the "gentleman from Fannin County" threw himself into the vortex of debates with zest. Even then, however, as was his lifetime custom, he never spoke at great length, always with restraint rather than emotion, and armed with facts.

His ability earned respect and when, during the 32d session of the legislature, in his 5th year in the house, a vacancy in the speakership developed by resignation, SAM was elected to that office. He was 29, the youngest speaker in the history of the Texas House up to that time.

An incident following his elevation which illustrates the caliber of the man was an effort to oust the clerk of the house, an appointee of the former speaker.

The move was made by the latter's foes, who wanted Speaker SAM to appoint a woman of their choice. Mr. SAM felt the present clerk was competent and that to make the change would be unfair and an act of vengeance.

"SAM," their leader threatened, "if you don't appoint her, I'm going to put before the house a petition signed by a majority of the members."

"Ben," replied SAM, "I don't care if every member of the house signs your petition, I still won't appoint her."

He didn't, and the petition plan was dropped.

That whole session was a stormy one for the fledgling speaker who, looking back at it in later years, said he got through it "by God, ignorance, and desperation."

In a rare obeisance to sentiment, SAM in that tumultous session defended Joe Bailey, his boyhood idol, then U.S. Senator, from attacks by a legislative committee investigating the alleged connections of Texas political figures with the Standard Co.

When SAM, a few months later that year (1912), announced his candidacy for the Fourth District seat in the U.S. House of Representatives, being vacated by a Bailey foe, the Senator gratefully supported him.

The Bonham Texas Daily Favorite, in its issue of July 16, 1912, ran the following two-column headline on page 1:

"Hon. SAM RAYBURN heard in Bonham. Stores all close and everybody goes out to hear Fannin County's gifted son who is a candidate for Congress. County well represented."

Important to the people who crowded the Bonham courthouse the day before this item appeared was whether and how SAM RAYBURN would respond to charges circulated by his opponents that he had been a paid railroad attorney while a member and speaker of the house in the State legislature.

In its special edition marking the dedication of the Rayburn Library October 8, 1957, the Daily Favorite recalled and quoted from the story appearing under that earlier headline, with the comment:

"And here, early in his illustrious career that has never been marred by an act of dishonesty, SAM RAYBURN sounded a principle that has been his guide through all his years in national leadership."

"Never in my life," he said in answering the railroad attorney charge, "have I represented a public service corporation.

"When I became a member of the law firm of Steger, Thurmond & Rayburn, Messrs. Thurmond and Steger were representing the Santa Fe Railroad Co., receiving pay monthly. When the first check came after I entered the firm, Mr. Thurmond brought to my desk one-third of the amount of the check, explaining what it was for.

"I said to him that I was a member of the legislature, representing the people of Fannin County, and that my experience had taught me that men who represented the people should be as far removed as possible from those concerns regarding whose interests he was liable to be called upon to legislate.

"And that on that ground I would not accept a dollar of the railroad's money, though I was legally entitled to it. I never did take a dollar of it.

"I have been guided by this principle in all my dealings."

This straightforward answer obviously carried weight with the voters.

On the ballot were eight candidates for the Democratic nomination for U.S. Representative at that primary election held July 27, 1912, with the winner, of course, assured of victory in the general election in November. Of the 21,336 votes cast in the 5 counties of Collin, Grayson, Fannin, Hunt, and Rains—then comprising the Fourth District—SAM RAYBURN was high man with 4,983 votes.

He won with a lead of 500 over his nearest opponent, Tom Perkins, of Collin County.

From that day, though many tried, none could oust RAYBURN from representation of that district in any election that followed every 2 years for nearly half a century.

SAM, a shy newcomer to the National Capital, arrived in the crowds and excitement for the inauguration of President Woodrow Wilson on March 4, 1913.

He was fortunate in his choice of a hotel not far from the Capitol—the old Cochran, long since gone—which happened to be largely populated by fellow Members of Congress. SAM joined the outer fringe of inconspicuous listeners who sat around the lobby listening to the pearls of political wisdom dropped by old-timers such as "Judge" Cordell Hull, of Tennessee, a leader in the House and later Secretary of State.

SAM went after an assignment to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

He made his request to his fellow Texan, Representative John Nance Garner, who, fortunately, had just been made a member of the Committee on Ways and Means, and was able to fulfill the request. By the rules of the Democratic Party caucus, its members on Ways and Means constituted the membership of the party's committee on committees which doles out the assignments of Democratic Members.

It was more than 2 months before he stepped into the well of the House to make his maiden speech. In the speech he echoed the Democratic policy of tariff for revenue only as against the Republican policy of protectionism. But the young man also delivered himself of his intentions and goals as a legislator.

"Mr. SAM's creed"—this excerpt from that speech of May 6, 1913, in his own handwriting—was presented to him 46 years later by a group of 45 admiring Senators:

"It is now my sole purpose here to help enact such wise and just laws that our common country will by virtue of these laws be a happier and more prosperous country.

"I have always dreamed of a country which I believe this should and will be. And that is one in which the citizenship is an educated and patriotic people, not swayed by passion and prejudice, and a country that knows no East, no West, no North, no South, but inhabited by a people liberty loving, patriotic, happy, and prosperous, with its lawmakers having no other purpose than to write such just laws as shall in the years to come be of service to humankind yet unborn."

These were the early years of hard apprenticeship. It was 18 years before he moved up to the committee chairmanship on December 7, 1931, in the 72d Congress as his preceptor, Garner, advanced to the speakership.

⁂

MR. SAM: No. 4

(By Jesse Laventhol)

SAM RAYBURN came to Congress during the regime of Speaker Champ Clark. But it was not until the ascendancy of Nicholas Longworth, the Ohio Republican and son-in-law of "Teddy" Roosevelt, that he became a key Member of the House.

It was during Longworth's period as leader and later as Speaker that Mr. SAM, under John Garner's sponsorship, was admitted to the Bureau of Education, an inner circle or private club of selected men of both parties, who met in a small office on the street floor of the Capitol Building.

Here, to the tinkling of ice on glass, and the gurgle of bourbon (mostly) being poured, RAYBURN heard the frank discussions of parliamentary politics. More and more, as he demonstrated his ability as a bill mechanic, as an astute dealer with his fellow

Members, he was given larger responsibilities in party management and as helmsman for steering legislation through the House.

At the 1932 Democratic National Convention in Chicago, Mr. SAM was leader of the forces for Speaker Garner for President, but there was no stopping the results of James A. Farley's advance spadework with the delegates, and RAYBURN settled for second place for his fellow Texan.

With the beginning of the Roosevelt administration and the 73d Congress the following March (the Norris Act eliminating the "lame duck" lag between election and assumption of office had not yet become law), Mr. SAM really came into his own as chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. He was ready to put his long period of training to use under his own steam.

He played a major part in enactment of New Deal legislation, eliminating abuses attributed to the economic royalists and rehabilitating and reforming the economy. That first Roosevelt year he sponsored the Truth in Securities Act and the railroad holding company bill.

In 1934 he was the author of bills creating the Securities and Exchange Commission for regulation of the stock exchanges, and the Federal Communications Commission to administer the airwaves in the public interest. In 1935 he put through his Public Utility Holding Company Act after the bitterest struggle seen on Capitol Hill up to that time, defeating the strongest lobby ever mustered by big business.

In all of these, he presided over the hearings, giving the opposition the fullest opportunity to express their views, studied long hours to master the subjects, and worked with F.D.R.'s bright brain-trusters—Tommy (the Cork) Corcoran; Dean James M. Landis, of Harvard; and Benjamin V. Cohen, who drafted the various measures to Mr. SAM's liking.

In 1936 he joined with Senator George W. Norris in sponsorship of the Rural Electrification Act which brought light and laborsaving facilities to farm homes all over America.

A year later he was elected majority leader, with the blessing and tacit support of F.D.R., and moved up to the speakership on September 16, 1940, upon the death of William B. Bankhead, of Alabama.

From the beginning of his career SAM RAYBURN made it his job to know people, to study them, and to learn how to deal with them, how to persuade and to lead them.

As he grew older and more influential, more and more new Members, some Republicans as well as Democrats, sought him out for advice at the beginning of each new Congress. To each he patiently outlined the duties.

"A Member who is here only a short time," he would say, "is of little help to his own district. As you build seniority, your influence grows. And you can only be reelected if you make a good record. To get along here you have to go along."

When it is considered that between 2,500 and 3,000 men and women have come to and gone from the House during the 48 years of Speaker RAYBURN's service, it becomes clear that this great reservoir of good will which he built up was an important source of his power.

As one of his House staff put it: "SAM RAYBURN was casting bread upon the waters every day he was here."

Like his predecessors—only 43 men before him held this office under the Constitution since 1789—the Speaker functioned in four distinct roles: In the chair, as leader of his party in the House, as Representative of the Fourth District of Texas, and as administrator of 4,000 House officials and employees.

It was from a welter of contending forces, and from the great human complex that is the House of Representatives, that Speaker RAYBURN for 17 years had to produce a legislative program for the Nation.

And it had to be done under the strict rules of parliamentary procedure, on which 11,000 precedents have been established. Moreover, he had to perform in such fashion that the measures agreeable to a majority of the Members were also acceptable to the President.

Once, reverting to the Texas cowhand's language, about bucking broncos, Mr. SAM said: "I just try to ride the House."

"You can't really say how you lead," he responded on another occasion. "You feel your way, receptive to those rolling waves of sentiment. And if a man can't see and hear and feel, why, then, of course, he's lost. One thing I can say from experience, there's no such thing as a rubber-stamp Congress."

How did he do it?

One answer lies in that bread he cast upon the waters. Another lies in the character of the man. He was the soul of integrity.

SAM's word bore the highest value of any political currency in Washington. If he told a man he would try to get him on a particular committee, or help clear a bill that was beneficial to his district or even give a constituent a job as elevator boy, he honored his promise.

"Mr. Speaker," spoke up a reporter at a RAYBURN press conference, "You see about a hundred people a day, and you tell them this or that, or what you will or won't do, but you never make notes. How do you remember all that you said?"

"If you tell the truth the first time," snapped Sam, "You have no trouble remembering."

Another element of his power was the restraint with which he exercised it. He respected the convictions of every man on any question, whether he was a Republican or a Democrat.

"When two men agree on everything," he said, "You can be sure that one of them must be doing all the thinking."

Less than a year after his elevation to the speakership, Sam Rayburn faced his first great test in that office. The time was August 1941.

The Nazi armies had invaded Russia and were sweeping toward Leningrad. France had fallen; Britain was being battered by a bomb blitz. Japan had invaded Indochina, and was threatening the Philippines.

Looking back, the United States at the time seemed paralyzed by a strange admixture of apathy, fear, and internal dissensions. President Roosevelt was under attack by isolationists and America Firsters for sending planes, guns, and tanks to England.

Although the Neutrality Act of 1939 was still on the statute books, the 76th Congress had enacted in September 1940 a Selective Training and Service Act to draft 600,000 men into the Army for 12 months. On May 27, 1941, the President had declared an unlimited national emergency.

As the time approached for beginning the discharge of the first draftees, the administration asked the Congress to extend their service and to further build up the Armed Forces.

The battle in Congress was bitter and the ultimate result in doubt.

While the debate raged on the floor for 3 days, an aroused Sam Rayburn was laboring behind the scenes to corral votes to back up the President. He worked as he always worked—in man-to-man fashion. He approached each waverer on the basis of his knowledge of the individual's prejudices, his political position back home, or his sense of personal obligation.

If all appeals failed, he looked a Congressman in the eye—Sam's direct, brown-eyed gaze could be hypnotic—and say, "then do this for me. I won't forget it."

When the big test came August 12—the rollcall on final passage of the President's bill—the vote was 203 in favor, 202 opposed, 27 not voting. A margin of a single vote thus kept the American Army intact—less than 4 months before December 7.

SAM RAYBURN

MR. SAM: NO. 5

(By Jesse Laventhol)

Eight Presidents occupied the White House for varying terms and seven Speakers came and went from the day SAM RAYBURN first took the oath as a Member of the House of Representatives on March 4, 1913.

"The tenure of the gentleman from Texas spans whole eras in our history," pointed out Democratic Majority Leader John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts, on January 3, 1951, when RAYBURN broke the record of Henry Clay for incumbency in the speakership. That was 11 years ago. Since then, two new Presidents have occupied the White House.

Ike often proudly boasted that he was "born in SAM RAYBURN'S district."

President John F. Kennedy was among the freshmen Representatives in 1947 who followed the tradition of beating a path to the door of RAYBURN, at that time temporarily reduced from Speaker to minority leader of the Republican 80th Congress.

President Kennedy is the reputed source of a story that was widely current in Washington not long after his inauguration.

A telephone caller to the White House was disappointed when he asked to speak to the President and was advised that he was on an official visit to Canada. He asked to speak to Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, who was on an official tour of southeast Asia. The caller then demanded to speak to Secretary of State Dean Rusk. Rusk was in Geneva, Switzerland, at the Conference on a nuclear test ban.

Frustrated, the caller exploded:

"Well, who's keeping store around here, anyway?"

"The same man who's always kept it," retorted the switchboard operator, "SAM RAYBURN."

It was a good story that got a lot of laughs. But, also, it was a symbolic acknowledgement that, with all the comings and goings of officialdom, and periodic turnovers in high circles, something of stability and continuity in Government always remained, as long as Mr. SAM was around.

Speaker RAYBURN seldom left the Capitol before 7 p.m. At day's end, his work finished, he sought his little hideaway.

When Capitol employees were departing and the lights were going off in most offices, he would walk to an unmarked door in the south corridor and enter a small private office. This was his refuge for reflection, and for relaxation with a few friends over a drink of "bourbon and branch water." The office was sparsely furnished, no more than half a dozen chairs, a desk, a telephone, a bookcase, an old safe, and in more recent years, an automatic ice-cube refrigerator.

A portrait of the Speaker, which will now be hung beside those of his predecessors in the Speaker's Lounge, just off the floor of the House, graced one wall of the "Board Room." Along another wall were a replica of the State seal of Texas and flags of the United States and the Lone Star State.

Supreme Court Justices Tom Clark, a fellow Texan, and William O. Douglas, a friend of New Deal days, were occasional visitors, not usually at the same time.

Former President Truman always dropped in when he revisited Washington. He was a regular in what had come to be known as "The Speaker's Board of Education," or "RAYBURN's School of Political Science," from his days as Senator from Missouri, and throughout his Vice Presidency, the nomination for which was awarded him by F.D.R. in 1944 when Truman himself favored RAYBURN for the place.

It was less than a year after that national convention, and only months after the election that these two friends felt the hand of history in that room on April 12, 1945. The Speaker had just entered. He was expecting Truman and others, who had started gathering, when the telephone rang.

Steve Early, the President's secretary, was calling from the White House. He had called the Vice President's office and was told he was walking from the Senate wing to the Speaker's office. He asked SAM to tell Mr. Truman to come to the White House immediately. When the Vice President arrived, he was given the message and hurried off.

None knew at the moment the portent of that call, but the news was not long delayed in reaching the little room. President Roosevelt was dead at Warm Springs, Ga.

William S. White, correspondent and author, was among the eyewitnesses to this drama. Four years later in the New York Times magazine, he wrote:

"Mr. RAYBURN, the Speaker in a Democratic administration that had seemed to many already to be slowly dying in the weight of the years and their bitterness, sat at his desk in the semidarkness. No one thought to turn up the lights.

"His heavy and very nearly immobile face was still in the shadows and the only movement upon it was the small and barely visible traces of tears."

The Speaker always rated F.D.R. as "the greatest humanitarian" to occupy the Presidency.

During an interview by Raymond P. Brandt, chief Washington correspondent of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch in February 1951, the Speaker was asked:

"Did you ever disagree with Roosevelt on the New Deal program?"

"Not publicly," RAYBURN replied, "I think his two greatest mistakes were his Supreme Court plan of 1937 and his attempted congressional purge in 1938. Officially, I had nothing to do with either.

"As I said, I am a team player and believe in working within the party organization."

RAYBURN showed a fierce pride in the House when he corrected interviewers who asked about Presidents under whom he had served.

"Don't use that word 'under,' " the Speaker tartly warned. "I've never served 'under' anybody. I've served with them."

His pride flared again whenever anyone referred to the Senate as the "Upper Chamber" of the Congress.

There is no lower or upper body the Speaker would point out painstakingly. The House of Representatives and the Senate are equal and coordinate bodies. The Members of both receive the same salary. But he would also point out that the House has exclusive power under the Constitution to originate revenue and appropriation bills.

A suggestion that he would be an ideal candidate for Senator from his home State caused him to explode:

"I would rather be Speaker of the House than 10 Senators."

Actually, his influence in the Senate was much greater than if he were a Member—or 10 Members—because nearly one-third of its membership are former Members of the House, many of them men who sat at the feet of the old master and learned from him.

Mr. SAM never took seriously widespread reports that he was to be Roosevelt's choice as running mate in 1944. Years later he revealed that many political figures had talked to him about the Vice Presidency that year, including the late Frank C. Walker, Postmaster General and chairman of the national committee, and Walker's successor that year, Ed Flynn of New York; Ed Pauley, California oilman; Mayor Ed Kelly of Chicago; and Senator Truman himself, who was picked by F.D.R. at that convention and stepped up to the White House after Roosevelt's death.

But RAYBURN was a political realist.

"I knew I didn't have a chance," he admitted. "I came from the wrong State and was born at the wrong time. I think, too, that Roosevelt remembered the trouble he had with Garner. The President never spoke to me about it and I didn't take the other talk seriously. And I'm glad I didn't.

"I love this House. It is my life. This is what I always wanted, and I am satisfied."

MR. SAM: NO. 6

(By Jesse Laventhol)

Throughout his 48 years on Capitol Hill SAM RAYBURN's personality, mode of life, manner, speech and dress—all reflections of a character molded in the rigors of his upbringing—were unchanging.

His solid, almost square frame, gave the impression of granite strength, almost as if hewn from the same rock as the Capitol Building itself. In manner and appearance he was the complete antithesis of the popular concept of a politician, more especially as that image was applied to Texans. He exuded an aura of modesty, dignity and reserve—almost somberness.

SAM's virtues received a sort of official White House acknowledgment on January 6, 1943. It was the Speaker's 61st birthday, which he ignored because it was also the opening day of a new (the 78th) Congress.

SAM was busy with opening the session when a call came in the afternoon that President Roosevelt urgently wanted to see the Speaker at 5 p.m.

Thinking the conference probably related to legislative plans, RAYBURN asked Majority Leader John McCormack, of Massachusetts to accompany him.

However, in the lobby of the executive office the chief usher advised that the President desired to speak to RAYBURN alone for a few minutes. Mr. SAM was embarrassed for his associate and grumbled. "Don't understand what this is all about. John and I don't have any secrets from each other."

But he went into the oval room and found the President looking unusually solemn. After all, it was wartime, the Speaker thought, and anything could have happened.

"SAM," the President said, "a number of your friends are concerned about a personal problem of yours."

"What's that?"

"The problem, SAM," responded F.D.R., ever fond of practical jokes, "is your age!"

As if on cue, the door opened and McCormack, Republican Minority Leader Joseph W. Martin, Jr., and a dozen or more other leading Members from both sides of the aisle, came in singing "Happy birthday, dear Speaker." And on behalf of all the President presented the guest with a new Stetson hat.

In the round of joshing that followed, F.D.R. said, "Seriously, SAM, I understand from your friends that this hat is the same size as the one you wore when you first came up from Texas in 1913."

Mr. Sam recalled that Woodrow Wilson once told him that high position in the Government had a different effect upon different men.

"Some grow, others just swell," he quoted the scholarly Princeton professor-president.

Roosevelt opined that Sam was one of those who did not swell—and the vote was unanimous.

Over the years, to the day he left to battle the awful scourge of his final illness, his daily uniform of office was unvarying—dark, well-tailored business suit, white shirt and dark tie—bespeaking restrained good taste. His one concession in younger years, a bow tie, was later discarded for a four-in-hand. Let others, if they would, effect cowboy hats and riding boots in the Halls of the Capitol; not Sam.

It was only when back home on his farm in the ranch country that he donned the bright-checked flannel shirts, 10-gallon hat and old corduroy pants that Texans like to sport.

Rayburn's dignity and honesty won him the long-term respect of scores of Capital Hill reporters. In most cases, the respect was mutual.

When the death of a teenage daughter struck the home of a newspaperman who occasionally attended Speaker Rayburn's conferences, the bereaved father was surprised to find the Speaker ringing his doorbell next morning.

"I just came by to see what I could do to help," said Mr. Sam.

"I don't think there's anything you can do," blurted the startled parent. "Thank you, but we're just now making all the arrangements."

"Well," asked the Speaker, "have you all had your coffee yet?"

"No, we haven't had time."

"Well," rumbled Rayburn, "I can at least make the coffee." And he proceeded to do so.

Over coffee with the family, the reporter asked:

"Mr. Speaker, aren't you supposed to be having breakfast at the White House this morning?"

"Well," Rayburn admitted, "I was, but I called the President and told him a friend was in trouble and I couldn't come."

Lest an impression be given that Sam Rayburn was perfection personified and always sweetness and light, it must be said that he had his moments of tempestuousness. Although rare, these outbursts were always signaled by a deep flush which started at the neckline and spread to the top of his shiny baldpate.

It happened in the House when the Members became unusually unruly on the floor, and more than once it was accompanied by the breaking of a gavel as the Speaker pounded for order.

Or it happened in the privacy of the Speaker's room when he read or heard indirectly of a matter affecting a House Member or Capitol official on which he had not been informed by his staff. The explosion, accompanied by a Texas bluestreak of cusswords, was a sight and a sound to behold—and a terror to the Speaker's hard-pressed aids, who probably never had an opportune moment to give him the information.

He smacked his desk and roared:

"But why didn't you tell me? Why didn't you let me know about it?"

As in most other things, simplicity was the hallmark, too, of the RAYBURN speech. Of bombast of flowery phrases he would have none. He never used a big word where a smaller one would serve to convey the same meaning. He avoided formal speeches from a prepared manuscript whenever possible, preferred to talk extemporaneously and just use bare notes of a word or two to cue himself on each point he wanted to stress.

He never employed a publicity man and he detested the practice of men in the public life using ghostwriters:

"A man ought to know what he wants to say and stand up and say it—or else keep his mouth shut."

⁂

MR. SAM: NO. 7

(By Jesse Laventhol)

Life in Washington was a constant turmoil which Speaker SAM RAYBURN endured with a singular outward calm and patience.

But whenever he could, he stole weekends to go fishing on rivers or lakes on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. He enjoyed a few hours of relaxation in his bachelor apartment where he liked to personally prepare and cook for a few intimate friends his favorite dishes: Texas chili—without beans—or fried chicken or pork shoulder, varying the menu occasionally with scrambled eggs, soup beans, giblet gravy on hot biscuit, collard greens—and always cornbread.

But real surcease from his labors, the complete peace he sought when the pressures were off, RAYBURN found only at home on his farm at Bonham, Tex.

The white two-story colonial house, midst shrubbery and trees, stands on the western outskirts of the town, about 100 feet off Route 82—a paved highway made possible by Mr. SAM's national program of Federal aid for construction of farm-to-market roads. Fronting 160 acres of farmland, the house has four 20-foot-high pillars supporting a slanting dormer-windowed roof.

LEISURELY DAYS

Two days here, spent in and around the house, partaking leisurely of home fare, reading while lolling on one of the dozen sofas or gently rocking on one of the 14 rocking chairs about the place, were all Mr. SAM needed to be completely rested.

Thus "unwound" from the hurried pace of Washington to the milder tempo of rural life, with mind at ease and energy restored, he turned to this other life he loved so deeply, that of a man of the soil.

First he would make a general check of the overall operations of not only the 160 acres at the homestead, but an additional 208 Rayburn acres nearby, and the 900-acre cattle ranch 14 miles northeast of Bonham acquired in the middle 1930's.

Thereafter he would get down to specific activity working side by side with his farmhands, or the ranchhands, doing the things that needed to be done, whether sawing, chopping, or repairing a building.

CONSERVATION PIONEER

Mr. SAM was a most successful farmer and cattle breeder, a pioneer in soil and water conservation, and applied this practical knowledge in a most influential way for the improvement of agriculture generally.

Mr. SAM was one of the first farmers in Texas to change from "plowing a straight furrow" to the soil-and-water-saving method of terrace ridges and contour rows. This way, fast-running water and swift-blowing winds were prevented from carrying off too much topsoil.

"I like to make running water walk," RAYBURN told the late Valton J. Young, the new farm agent in Burnham County in 1933, as he showed him about his place.

When one of the neighboring farmers said to SAM, "the long and straight rows let us work our land so much easier," he snapped back:

"Yes. Keep running your straight rows up and down the hill and your harvest will be much lighter and easier, too."

BURNED STALKS

Many of these same farmers also raked and burned all their stalks after harvest, leaving their soil naked instead of keeping a protective cover during the long rainy winter to absorb and retain the moisture, as Mr. SAM did.

"We can't stand to work foul land," they said.

Ultimately, Fannin County fellow farmers came around to SAM's way of thinking, as did most others in Texas which led the country in adopting a soil and water conservation program.

In Mr. SAM's view "a cash crop is only secondary to a successful farm family."

"The first function of a farm," he explained, "is to make the owner's family a good living. This includes a good family food supply grown right on the farm. If a family goes on a farm or ranch to make a livelihood, they usually do that—plus making some money. But if they go on a farm just to make money, they nearly always wind up doing neither."

FOOD APLENTY

Mr. SAM did both. In the thirties, the main cash crop of the 160-acre farm was milk. Others were cotton and corn. But here and on the larger acreage nearby they produced many other items to keep the Rayburn larder always well stocked with plenty of good food.

In the early days on the farm SAM's mother and father were fairly active: mother—described by all who knew her as a wonderful woman and a living dynamo—busy in the kitchen cooking for her appreciative family, father helping his sons whenever he could. The elder Rayburn passed away in 1916 at the age of 79, having lived to see SAM twice reelected to Congress.

Mrs. Rayburn, who latterly permitted a cook to come into her kitchen, always insisted on preparing SAM's favorite dishes for him when he came home from Washington, either on short vacations or at session's close. Until her death in 1926 she even made an occasional trip to the Capital to cook for SAM at his apartment.

As his brothers Tom and Jim—the twins—and Will, retired from active work on the farm which they operated in the Speaker's absences, and later passed away, SAM took a long planned step. He gave up dairy farming, selling his prize Jersey herd, including White Sox, a champion bull whose royal blood was transmitted to generations of the best Jersey male calves in communities for miles around.

"We no longer have the time, labor, and management available to keep our well-developed dairy herd," SAM informed County Agent Young one day in the late thirties. "I recently bought the old Steger ranch and three small adjoining tracts out on Coffee Mill Creek. After some necessary fencing, pool digging, and barn building, I plan to stock the place with young registered beef animals and then grow into business as I am able and as the grazing capacity of the land will stand."

The largest part of the 900 acres he acquired, in an area known as Ivanhoe, was an abandoned ranch in poor condition.

Obviously, Mr. SAM was no Sunday farmer.

Walking a couple of miles a day or riding his favorite cow pony, Pansy, about the ranch, pitching hay, or cutting wood, Rancher RAYBURN enjoyed complete contentment here.

He could stay at the one-story ranchhouse which was built among a grove of oak trees. Its high and wide fireplace, walnut beds to sleep six, electric stove for broiling steaks, and old-fashioned icebox, usually holding watermelons, were all the conveniences a man needed. The old lodge had no telephone and no mail delivery.

This was Shangri-La indeed.

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MR. SAM: No. 8

(By Jesse Laventhol)

SAM RAYBURN was proud of his good health beyond the Biblical threescore and ten, and attributed it, among other things to the fact that he spent 9 hours a night in bed.

"I don't sleep all that time," he said, "but when I am stretched out all my insides are relaxed."

Another factor: "I don't worry. When I leave Capitol Hill, I leave my work there."

On the way to work in good weather, he frequently would have his chauffeur drop him about 8 blocks from the Capitol and walk the rest of the way.

"Never been sick in my life," Mr. SAM boasted, "and only been in a hospital once—to have my tonsils out."

At home on the farm, of course, he got plenty of "moderate exercise to keep my body in condition."

On his 79th birthday last January 6, 3 days after the present Congress convened, Speaker RAYBURN seemed his usual vigorous self, though the signs of his years were unmistakable; shoulders more stooped, his walk slower.

The year was not far advanced before he began to feel aches in his body. Not sharp pain, just aches. They centered in his back and he dismissed them as merely "that old lumbago."

But despite restful holidays at home during the Easter recess and Memorial Day weekend, the aching sensations recurred, spread to his head. Twice while presiding in the chair, he suffered blackouts, once in June and again in July. Both were very brief but definite. Meantime, he was losing weight.

The last formal function he attended, at the Mayflower Hotel the night of August 22, was a reception for the President and Members of Congress, arranged jointly by the Democratic National Committee and the congressional campaign committees of the House and Senate. Friends who had seen the Speaker at a dinner only 3 months before were startled by the contrast in his appearance, and a picture taken of him at the reception was not released.

He was obviously failing. Yet he kept driving himself to push through the new administration's legislative program, particularly the compromise Federal-aid-to-education bill.

Mr. SAM was working too hard. A hurry call was made to Bonham for his personal physician, Dr. Joe A. Risser, who came to Washington and wanted to take his patient back with him. Mr. SAM refused.

But not long after the doctor's visit which was not publicly known, Mr. SAM called Dr. Risser by telephone and said simply: "Joe, I am just sick. I can't go on."

The Speaker signed the brief and formal letter naming Mr. McCormack to preside as Speaker pro tempore and then, on August 29, left Washington never to return.

Mr. SAM learned of the true nature of his illness on September 27 while still at home. Over that weekend, he consented to go to Baylor University Hospital at Dallas, and Dr. Risser made the necessary arrangements.

He entered Baylor on the following Monday, October 2, and 3 days later after a series of tests, the announcement was made that the Speaker had incurable cancer of the pancreas.

There he was visited by President Kennedy for nearly a half-hour on October 9. They talked politics, avoiding the cause of his illness. Mr. SAM was cheered by this and other visits by other friends, including former President Harry Truman and Vice President Johnson.

The Speaker was brought back to Bonham on October 30. His faithful administrative assistant, John W. Holton, who spent sleepless days and nights beside his boss, quoted the Speaker's wish to end his days among "those friends and neighbors who, for so long, have given me a love and a loyalty unsurpassed in any annals."

And there, on the street floor of the little local hospital, while the skies wept and wind swept the last remaining leaves from the trees, the end came early in the morning of November 16.

Never before at any funeral, so far as is known, was there assembled a President, his Vice President, and two immediate former Presidents of the United States.

Their presence signified the gratitude of a whole Nation to a faithful servant, and the passing of "a good man and a just."

SAM RAYBURN

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, many tributes have been paid our late beloved SAM RAYBURN. During his long and active life, countless words of praise were written of him and numberless honors were awarded to this great American. Of all these, I believe those dearest to the heart of this great and simple man came from his friends, the people who knew him as a man, as well as a leader.

Under unanimous consent, I include in the Record the text of a testimonial scroll awarded by the National Committee for a Representative Congress to Speaker RAYBURN. This is an independent, nonpartisan, citizens' group whose purpose is to recognize and support outstanding public service by Members of Congress. The text was written by Commodore Charles Kress, former mayor of Binghamton, N.Y., and a personal friend of Mr. RAYBURN. It reads as follows:

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A REPRESENTATIVE CONGRESS,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

TO THE HONORABLE SAM RAYBURN—SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

For an outstanding record of distinguished service as Speaker of the House:

In adhering steadfastly to the principles of representative government;

In rendering highly constructive services to the people of Texas, faithfully and vigorously representing their ideals and objectives, and making many important contributions to the welfare, progress, and betterment of that State;

In standing forth as a fighting champion of democracy, determined to make and keep government at all times a true servant of the people; and exercising continual vigilance against legislation not in the best interests of all citizens;

In exerting unceasing efforts to build a strong national defense adequate to protect our Nation against Communist schemes of world conquest, and enable our country to continue leadership in the world struggle for peace, liberty, justice, and a better way of life for all humanity;

In becoming during his congressional career of nearly half a century, the greatest single force in the country for good government, sound legislation, and commonsense in national affairs—

exercising vast power wisely, honestly, calmly, making grave and far-reaching decisions always by the simple, forthright rule of what might be good or not be good for America;

In living daily his faith in God, in country, in fellow man, in himself—thus becoming to the Nation a living symbol of America—of America's strength, of America's courage, of America's determination, of America's unselfishness and fair dealing, of America's democracy and individualism. A symbol of all that makes America great—a beloved symbol that makes "Mr. Sam," "Mr. Texas," "Mr. America," all one in the hearts of his fellow countrymen; a living symbol of a good man, a good neighbor, a good citizen, a good public servant, patriotically and wholeheartedly dedicated to faithfully serving America with unselfish disregard of any personal political consequences.

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